XEROX

Xerox University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

WESTERN AMERICANA

Reproduced from the original in the collection of
THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY

17694

A HISTORY

OF THE

CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

AND INCIDENTALLY OF THE

STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

BY

JOHN S. HITTELL,

Historian of the Society of California Pioneers; Author of "The Resources of California," "A Brief History of Culture," etc., etc.

SAN FRANCISCO:
A. L. BANCROFT & COMPANY.
1878.

F869
S3H7

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1878,
By JOHN S. HITTELL,
In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

THIS

VOLUME IS DEDICATED

TO THE

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS

BY ITS

HISTORIAN.

PREFACE.

THIS book was written at the request of the committee appointed to manage the celebration in San Francisco of the Centennial Anniversary of the Declaration of our National Independence, in accordance with a resolution adopted by Congress on the thirteenth of March, 1876, recommending that in every town the delivery of a historical sketch of the place from its foundation should be part of the local celebration. It was considered better that, instead of a brief sketch to be read publicly in an hour, the metropolis on the American coast of the North Pacific should have a book of several hundred pages. The city furnishes material enough for a history which could never be prepared on a more appropriate occasion than in commemoration of the National Centennial year, especially since it happens to coincide with the completion of the first century in the existence of our city. Such a double epoch demanded some special mark of recognition.

There are urgent reasons why works of this kind should be written by pioneers, and while there are still hundreds of pioneers living to furnish information from their personal reminiscences and from papers that will be lost when they die. No record, however brilliant in its composition or comprehensive and careful in its statements, could ever be accepted as satisfactory, as to many of the great events that have occurred here on a comparatively small stage of action within the last thirty years, unless based on the authority of the actors themselves—who, with highly-wrought feelings, often played for the great stake of fortune, and sometimes for the still greater one of life, running through a succession of rapid and startling vicissitudes. Whatever misfortunes have overtaken the individual citizens, they have the consolation of seeing that California has advanced with a swift and grand prosperity, and that they have participated in one of the most imposing pageants ever enacted on the stage of universal history.

The scenes which I must try to depict for the reader will show a multitude of figures and many phases of passion. A host of adventurers flocking from the centers of civilization on the shores of the Atlantic, half across the world, to a remote corner on the coast of what was then the semi-barbarous Pacific, coming to make a brief stay in the rude search for gold, brought a high culture with them, and suddenly lifted their new home to an equal place among the most enlightened communities. The early American settlers in California, instead of being, as many persons at a distance supposed they would be, the mere offscourings of a low rabble, were, in a large proportion, men of knowledge and capacity; and if generally inexperienced in high station and serious responsibility, yet not incompetent for them. At brief notice they organized a state, complete in all its parts. As if by magic, their touch or their influence created magnificent cities; clipper ships, that cast the boasted Indiamen of England into disrepute; two railroads, connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific; a line of ocean steamers, connecting Asia with America, and a telegraph line from the Golden Gate to the Mississippi.

By their help, a village so insignificant that it had scarcely a mention on the map, grew till it became a leading center of population, commerce, industry, wealth, luxury, and of intellectual, political, and financial activity. They saw the indigenous chaparral give way to tents, these to cloth-lined wooden buildings, and these to public and private palaces that rival the homes of European princes. Unable to find suitable room upon the land, they built a thousand houses and miles of street upon piles, rivaling the exploits of Venice and Amsterdam in encroaching upon the sea. But since this work, when first done in haste, lacked the character of permanence, the solid earth was moved out to give an everlasting foundation to the structures erected upon places once occupied by the bay. Under their labor, a hundred hills were cut down and transported to fill as many valleys, and thus a spacious, level and solid site was made by costly art where nature had but little save steep ridge, unsightly ravine, swamp, mud-flat and deep bay.

The pioneers saw nearly the whole business part of the city swept away by several great conflagrations. They saw the Sydney convicts threaten to become masters of the place in 1851, and the political ruffians obtain a powerful influence in the municipal government in 1856; and in both cases, as the law was insufficient to provide a remedy, the people organized their vigilance committees which executed justice with a promptness, prudence, vigor and exactness that excited the envy of learned and honest judges.

They saw in much of the state the savage retire before the cow-herd, who again retired before the wheat farmer. They saw the rise of a new horticulture which combines the energy of New England with the scientific training of Europe on a soil as fertile as that of Egypt, and in a climate as genial as that of Italy. They saw the development of a new mining industry, which lifted rivers from their beds, washed away the eternal hills, followed up and cleaned out the channels of the immense streams of an ancient geological era, and made topographical changes in the natural levels of the earth's surface so great that they may claim to exceed all that has ever been done elsewhere. When the auriferous deposits of the western slope of the Sierra Nevada had yielded the best of their treasures, the miners crossed the mountain ridge, and astonished the world by their new metallurgy, their improved applications of machinery to deep mining, and a production of silver from the Comstock lode surpassing the aggregate yield of all the mines of Mexico and Peru when they were at their best under the dominion of Spain, and when they exported nothing worthy of note save precious metal.

The men who took part in most of these wonderful changes, and witnessed all of them, feel that California, and especially San Francisco, has an interest for them such as no other country or city could have acquired, in our age at least, nor do they lament that they did not live in some better time in the remote past. No golden era of romance or chivalry, no heroic period of Greece or Rome provokes their envy, or, in their conception, outshines the brilliancy of the scenes in which they have been actors. This is the very home of their souls.

It is impossible for one to live long in San Francisco, and become familiar with its business and business men, without becoming attached to the city and state. However much he may see to dislike, he will also find much that commands his attention and fastens on his sympathies. The rapidity of growth, the energy in industry and traffic, the competition of commercial talents, the fever of speculation, the vast accumulation of wealth, the fierce fluctuations of fortune, the frequent visits of celebrities from all parts of the civilized world, and the magnitude of events occurring in swift succession on a comparatively small stage, never allow our interest to flag or permit us to forget that we are in an exceptional land, among a population who, though nearly all immigrants from many different parts of America and Europe, yet, by long training under singular and impressive circumstances, have taken the general character of Californians and have come to regard themselves as a peculiar people. There is probably nothing that serves to distinguish them more than their pride in their state, their attachment to it, and their profound conviction that the more people elsewhere know of the country and its inhabitants, the better they will like them. The Californians, especially the pioneers, are proud of the large influence exercised by their state in the commerce and industry of the world. The discovery of the gold deposits of the Sierra Nevada was an important event of peaceful progress, a notable fact in the history of commerce and industry. It was the beginning, or great stimulus of important changes, the like of which never were before attached to so small a community within so brief a period.

It would be a mistake, however, to ascribe the pride of the pioneers exclusively to their opinion of the importance of their enterprise, in its direct or indirect influence on themselves or on the world at large. Their feelings are partly the result of an ardent attachment to the soil and climate of the state, and the most unbounded confidence, that, on account of the natural advantages, it must become one of the chief centers of the highest culture. Notwithstanding the vast accumulations of financial wealth, artistic treasure and interesting historical association in older and more populous communities, the impression prevails generally here, that this is a more desirable country for the home of most of its people than any other under sun. We envy neither France, Tuscany, Naples, nor Palestine. The soil of our state is not sacred to us, in the sense in which the Ganges and Nile valleys, Jerusalem, Rome, and Nauvoo have been sacred, but our attachment to it is intense. Bounded by Shasta on the north, and San Bernardino on the south, Yosemite on the east, and the Golden Gate on the west, we have a territory that is blest by Nature beyond all the world. Why should we not be proud of it? The commerce, the wealth, the literature and the art of San Francisco; the hydraulic washings and quartz mines of the Sierra Nevada; the quicksilver furnaces of the coast range; the borax deposits of the enclosed basin east of the snowy mountains; the wheat fields of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys; the orchards of Santa Clara and Alameda; the orange and olive groves of the southern coast; the sub-tropical valleys, the semi-frigid Californian Alps, the ever cool clime of our middle coast, a thousand precious mineral springs of various qualities, adapted to cure a hundred different phases of disease; an exemption from the influence that lead to the spread of many of the most formidable epidemics elsewhere, and the possession of remarkable advantages for sanitary purposes by large districts; these form an aggregate sufficient to breed, nourish and stimulate local pride as great as that which fills the breasts, not only of the pioneers, but of most of the other residents of our city.

The old Californians want a book to revive their recollections and to recall associations, which, vivid as they are in some respects, still need to be kindled anew, and connected with the present, as if proof were wanted that the wonders of their past lives are, after all, not mere dreams. Their experiences and impressions are part of the most valuable information of an age that must ever preserve a prominent place in the history of our state, though we hope the time may never come when enlightened readers elsewhere will look back to the first quarter century of American dominion in California, and read of that with interest, caring little for its later history, as now we read about the ages of Pericles in Athens, and of the Spanish conquerors in Mexico and Peru.

As the most brilliant center of civilization in the basin of the North Pacific and the metropolis of the western slope of the United States, San Francisco and its history should have an interest for many readers beyond its borders. Its population has a representative character—a flavor of universal brotherhood. Every country of Europe and every state in the American Union has many natives among its population. A million homes between Maine and Texas, between Glasgow and Constantinople are interested in some son, daughter, brother or sister in the golden metropolis. The Teuton, the Latin, the Slav, the Celt, the Jew, the Magyar, and the Chinaman, show their signs and use their tongues in our streets. No other city has in proportion to its size so many heart-strings running out through all civilized nations.

It is not possible, nor is it desirable to entirely separate the history of San Francisco from that of California. The former, though not without a large productive industry of its own, has depended upon the latter for its growth and prosperity. The city with its suburbs has now more than a third of the inhabitants and wealth of the state, and has from the first had more than any other metropolis as compared with its tributary population. Whatever has added to the wealth of any town, or mining or agricultural district within ten degrees, has aided to enrich the "chrysopolis," the golden city, as it has been styled. Here, most of the railroads and silver mines, and many of the gold mines, ranchos, canals, orchards and vineyards of the state are owned; here their revenues are invested, and are or will be enjoyed. San Francisco is the center and focus of the Pacific Slope of the United States, and its progress reflects and has been dependent on that of a wide area.

So much it seemed proper to say by way of prefatory remark upon the subject and the book.

J. S. H.

SAN FRANCISCO,
October 1, 1878.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

INDIAN ERA.

SECTION. PAGE.
1. Aborigines.................. 19
2. Discovery of California...... 25
3. Drake...................... 26
4. Vizcaino.................... 29
5. Missions Projected.......... 30
6. Franciscan Order........... 33
SECTION. PAGE.
7. Junipero Serra.............. 35
8. First Expedition............ 39
9. First Missions.............. 39
10. Discovery of Bay........... 41
11. Privations 42

CHAPTER II.

MISSION ERA.

12. Visiting Expeditions........ 45
13. First Settlement........... 47
14. Mission Authority.......... 49
15. Indian Women............... 51
16. Indian Men................. 53
17. Savage Life................ 54
18. Convert Life............... 55
19. Indian Work................ 55
20. No Education............... 56
21. Number of Indians. 58
22. Great Mortality............ 59
23. Friars..................... 62
24. Mission Buildings 64
25. Mission Income............. 66
26. Decay of Missions.......... 68

CHAPTER III.

THE VILLAGE ERA.

27. Secularization.............. 70
28. Land Grants................ 72
29. Pueblo..................... 76
30. Lease 79
31. Yerba Buena................ 82
32. First House................ 84
33. First Survey............... 86
34. Hudson Bay................. 88
35. Predictions................ 91
36. Morrell.................... 93
37. Beechey.................... 93
38. Wilkes, etc................. 95
39. American Longing.......... 98
40. Larkin..................... 99

CHAPTER III.—*Continued.*

SECTION. PAGE.
41. Fremont's Blunder.......... 100
42. Bear Flag.................. 102
43. American Flag.............. 103
44. Effect of Conquest........... 106
45. Mormons...................... 107
46. Change of Name............. 110
47. Stevenson's Regiment....... 112
SECTION. PAGE.
48. O'Farrell's Survey........... 114
49. Sale of Lots................. 116
50. Census of 1847............... 117
51. Leading Town.............. 118
52. Shipping in 1847............ 118
53. Puff for California.......... 120
54. Peace...................... 121

CHAPTER IV.

THE GOLDEN ERA.

55. Gold....................... 124
56. Trade Stimulated........... 126
57. Excitement in the East..... 129
58. 1849....................... 132
59. First Great Fire........... 133
60. Telegraph Hill.............. 134
61. Edward Everett............ 135
62. First Steamer............... 136
63. Immigration by Sea 139
64. Call for Convention.......... 140
65. Ayuntamiento 141
66. City Government........... 143
67. Constitution................ 144
68. Summer of 1849............ 146
69. Hounds..................... 148
70. Auctions 149
71. More Lot Sales............. 150
72. Island Steamboats.......... 150
73. Plank Road................. 151
74. Winter of 1849............. 154
75. 1850...................... 155
76. Second Great Fire.......... 156
77. Legislative Work........... 157
78. Admission................. 159
79. Rejoicing.................. 160
80. Clipper Ships.............. 162
81. Pioneer Society........... 164
82. Wharf Contracts.......... 164
83. 1851 166
84. Fourth and Fifth Fires..... 168
85. Vigilance Committee, 1851.. 172
86. Coroner's Verdict 174
87. Execution of Stuart......... 175
88. Whittaker and McKenzie... 176
89. Land Commission 176
90. 1852...................... 183
91. French Immigration....... 185
92. Raousset 189
93. Fighting in Sonora 189
94. Obstacles.................. 192
95. End of Raousset........... 195
96. 1853 196
97. City Slip Sale.............. 199
98. Filibuster Walker.......... 200
99. Six Year's Work.......... 206

CHAPTER V.

THE GOLDEN ERA IN DECLINE.

100. 1854...................... 206
101. Dillon and Del Valle....... 209
102. Mercantile Business....... 210
103. Staple Imports............ 214
104. Commercial Panic......... 215
105. Meiggs.................... 218

CHAPTER V.—*Continued.*

SECTION. PAGE.
106. Forged Warrants.......... 219
107. Other Frauds.............. 222
108. Meiggs's Flight........... 223
109. 1855...................... 226
110. Adams & Co................ 227
111. Panama Railroad........... 233
112. Gambling.................. 235
113. Walker in Nicaragua....... 237
114. 1856...................... 239
115. Political Corruption...... 241
116. Murder of King............ 243
117. Vigilance Committee, 1856. 245
118. Swift Organization........ 247
119. Casey and Cora Executed.. 249
120. Ballot-box Stuffers....... 251
121. Law and Order Party....... 253
122. Arrest of Terry........... 254
123. McGowan.................. 257
124. Hetherington and Brace.... 257
125. Disbandment.............. 258
126. Work of the Committee.... 260
127. People's Party........... 262
128. 1857..................... 266
129. Crabb.................... 268
130. 1858..................... 269
131. Mining Excitements....... 271
132. Fraser Fever............. 273
133. 1859..................... 276
134. Early Politics........... 279
135. Broderick................ 281
SECTION. PAGE.
136. Hostility to Slavery....... 283
137. Campaign of 1853.......... 284
138. Hammond Denounced..... 286
139. Grab for Senatorship...... 287
140. Chivalry Triumph.......... 289
141. Know-Nothing Triumph... 292
142. H. S. Foote.............. 293
143. Chivalry in Discredit..... 294
144. Vigilantes and Broderick... 295
145. Senator at Last........... 296
146. Sale of Second Senatorship. 297
147. Offer to Sell it Again...... 299
148. Reception of Gwin's Letter. 300
149. No Patronage to Broderick. 301
150. Insult to Buchanan........ 302
151. Campaign of 1859.......... 305
152. Deadly Duel.............. 307
153. Conversion into a Hero.... 309
154. Trading Capital........... 310
155. Reward for Service........ 312
156. Veracity.................. 316
157. Chase for Senatorship...... 318
158. 1860..................... 319
159. Prosperity................ 321
160. Bulkhead................. 323
161. Pony Express............. 324
162. Election of 1860.......... 325
163. Baker's Oration........... 327
164. Seven Years.............. 329

CHAPTER VI.

THE SILVER ERA.

165. 1861...................... 331
166. 1862...................... 332
167. Sanitary Fund............. 335
168. 1863...................... 336
169. Silver Panic.............. 339
170. Conness.................. 343
171. 1864...................... 346
172. Gold Currency............. 348
173. Lincoln Re-elected........ 349
174. 1865...................... 351
175. Fire Telegraph............ 352
176. Railroad Purchase......... 353

CHAPTER VI.—*Continued.*

SECTION. PAGE.
177. Earthquake of 1865........ 354
178. City Slip Debt............ 354
179. 1866.................. 357
180. Subsidies.................. 358
181. Paid Fire Department 359
182. Kearny Street Widened.... 360
183. Outside Lands 362
184. 1867..................... 364
185. Railroad Progress.......... 366
186. Democratic Victory....... 367
187. 1868..................... 369
189. San Joaquin Valley........ 371
190. 1869 372
191. Pacific Railroad........... 373
192. Vallejo Railroad 375
193. Silver Mines.............. 376
194. Changes.................. 378
195. 1870 381
196. Census of 1870........... 383
197. French-German War...... 384
198. 1871 385
199. Hawes.................... 388
200. 1872 389
201. Goat Island............... 389
202. Belcher Bonanza.......... 392
SECTION. PAGE.
203. Diamond Fraud............ 393
204. 1873..................... 396
205. Oakland Harbor.......... 397
206. Dolly Varden............. 398
207. 1874 399
208. Large Immigration........ 399
209. Con. Virginia Bonanza..... 400
210. Flood & O'Brien.......... 401
211. James Lick............... 403
212. 1875 404
213. Calaveras Water Scheme... 405
214. Bank of California......... 406
215. Ralston 409
216. Eulogy.................... 412
217. Bank Reorganized......... 414
218. Virginia Fire 415
219. Lick's Trustees Changed... 416
220. 1876 417
221. Lick's Death.............. 418
222. Centennial Celebration..... 419
223. 1877 421
224. Hard Times............... 422
225. Workingmen.............. 424
226. 1878..................... 426
227. Eighteen Years 427

CHAPTER VII.

GENERALITIES.

228. Natural Site............... 432
229. Grades.................... 435
230. Amount of Grading........ 437
231. Sources of Buildings....... 438
232. The Press.................. 441
233. Amusements.............. 442
234. Churches.................. 444
235. Charities.................. 446
236. Home Life................. 447
237. Hotels...... 449
238. Millionaires............... 450
239. Extravagance.............. 454
240. Social Spirit 458
241. Swarming Out 462
242. Governmental Defects..... 463
243. Literature and Art 466
244. Condition in 1878.......... 475
245. Conclusion............... 477

APPENDIX.

PAGE.
Authorities 483
References..................... 486
Statistics... 488
PAGE.
Index.......................... 493
Subscribers.................... 499

HISTORY OF SAN FRANCISCO.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDIAN ERA.

Section 1. *Aborigines.* The origin of the American Indian is a subject of conjecture and dispute among ethnologists, and when these disagree upon a point in their special domain, it would be presumptuous for others to make a decision in a magisterial tone. Some theorists think that the red men were indigenous to this continent; others that they emigrated from north-eastern Asia. The main hope for additional light upon the question in the future is in the study of the Indian languages, which have hitherto been neglected, because they contained no literature and were not rendered valuable by important historical associations.

Numerous late discoveries of fossil human bones and works of rude art, in strata of gravel and sand which had not been disturbed for thousands of years, prove conclusively that California had been inhabited by men for many ages before its discovery by Cabrillo in 1542. The Indians of this coast have no records, nor have any of their early traditions been preserved, so that we do not know anything of them previous to the first visits of the Spanish navigators, save by inference from their condition, and that of their relatives in Lower California since then, and the examination of exhumed implements. Of these latter the most important are rude mortars for grinding grass seeds—rough, hard stones, from a foot to two feet in diameter, with a shallow or deep concavity, in which the seeds were pounded with a pestle. The material is usually granite or basaltic rock. Besides the mortars, miners have dug up arrow-heads, made of flint and obsidian, similar to those made and used of late years. Nothing has been found among the fossils, or elsewhere, to indicate that the ancient inhabitants of the country were ever above a very low stage of savagism. There are no pieces of pottery, no metallic tools or ornaments, no cut stone, no remains of stone or brick buildings, nor signs of fortifications. The failure to find these things, or anything equally high in character, either on the surface of the earth or underground, in a country where so much of the deep alluvium has been turned up, and where so many mortars and arrow-heads have been found, implies that they never were here. All the archæological evidence goes to show that the natives of California were as savage in A. D. 542 as they were a thousand years later; and this inference is supported by the historical principle that savage tribes, unless disturbed by contact with a more advanced race, usually remain in the same condition for centuries upon centuries. The earliest accounts that we have of the Indians about San Francisco bay, show them to us—as most of them remained until long after the Missions were established—far below the red inhabitants of any other part of the continent; and so low, indeed, in the scale of humanity, that we must go down to the aboriginal Australians and the most degraded of Papuans to find their equals. They had no metals, no woven cloth, no pottery; no arms save the bow and arrow; no cultivated lands of any kind; no domestic animals save dogs; no houses, but only rude huts made by putting sticks over a hole in the ground, and covering them with dirt, or by thatching a frame of brush with flags or tules; and no boats or canoes for the navigation of San Francisco bay or any of its tributary waters.

Their mechanical industry consisted mainly of weaving baskets, and making bows, arrows and spears. The baskets, woven of wire grass, were water-tight, and were used for cooking and for carrying burdens. The bows were made of young trees, perhaps the western yew, and were covered on the back with deer sinews. The arrows had heads of obsidian, sharpened by striking it and chipping it off until an edge was obtained; it then cut like broken glass. Knives and spear-heads were made in the same manner. Spears for fish had a little point of bone, which came out of the socket the moment after the game was struck, and then, being fastened to the spear handle by a cord, turned cross-wise in the flesh.

The men went naked in the summer, and in the winter wore a deer-skin over the back. The women covered themselves from the hips to the knees, with an apron made by tying pieces of flag or bark to a girdle. Neither sex had any covering for the head or feet. Their food consisted mainly of grass seeds, acorns, buckeyes, berries, fish, grasshoppers, clover and edible roots or tubers, with, occasionally, birds, rabbits, and deer. Those living near the rivers, caught great quantities of salmon in their season, but they had not skill in preparing any flesh to keep. They were poor hunters and rarely killed large game, notwithstanding its abundance. Acorns were mashed, and after being mixed with water, the dough was cooked by burying it with red-hot stones under and above. The buckeyes were mashed and made with water into a thin gruel, which was boiled by throwing red-hot stones into it. Summer brought an abundance of provisions, and the Indians got fat; in the winter their food became scarce and they grew lean. It was observed that, like some wild beasts, their offspring were generally born in the spring.

They had no religion, no conception of a deity or a future life, no idols, no form of worship, no priests, no philosophical conceptions, no historical traditions, no proverbs, no mode of recording thought. Their domestic and social polity was of the simplest nature; polygamy was common, and slavery not rare; the husband had absolute power over the persons and lives of his wives, the parent over his children, the master over his slaves. Woman was treated as an inferior.

It was her duty to perform all the labor of carrying burdens, collecting vegetable food, grinding grass seed and doing such miscellaneous work as would have been in their opinion a disgrace to the men, who did little more than to hunt, fish, go to war, make a few arms, and lounge about. The chief support of the family came from the wife; and the man was considered to be well situated in life, in proportion to the number of nominal wives, but real slaves, whom he had to wait upon him. Women were the chief article of wealth; there was no public ceremony to mark the beginning of the relation of husband and wife, and no sacredness in the relation after it had commenced.

They had no political organization; there was no king, no prince, no hereditary authority, no political bond on which command could be based. Some man distinguished by more courage, bravery or good luck than his fellows, might be recognized as a leader for a time, but there was no permanence to his power; there were no orderly public councils, nor any tribunals to administer public justice. The tribes were small, and, in the coast valleys, were usually at war, or at least not at peace with the tribes in the adjacent valleys. It was dangerous for a man to venture alone across the mountains which bounded the home of his tribe; they had not the courage and spirit to be warlike, nor the friendliness and good faith to have firm peace. War was made in the rudest, most cruel, and most cowardly manner; ambushes, midnight surprises, and fighting under cover, and at long distances, were always preferred to fair encounter upon the open field in daylight. Their only ceremonies were cremations and dances; they burned their dead amidst the concourse of the whole tribe, usually at night; and while the body was broiling in the flames, the women howled and wailed, and men marched round the funeral pyre. There was one main dance every year, in the spring, and that, too, was held at night. A party of a half a dozen or more men placed themselves in a row, while a monotonous chant was sung by women sitting around. In some tribes the infant left by the deceased mother was burned with her, not as a religious sacrifice, but as a simple mode of getting rid of a child for which nobody would care.

The Aztecs built up a great empire, remarkable for its military power, its architectural monuments, its astronomical discoveries, its general industry, and skill in many of the mechanic arts. The Indians of the upper Mississippi valley were distinguished for their manliness, bravery, constancy, and warlike skill; and the remains of extensive fortifications and great mounds show that a large and industrious population once dwelt there. In the Hawaiian Islands, the natives, when discovered by Cook, were the most amiable children of nature—full of friendliness, affection, voluptuousness and grace in time of peace, and capable of extensive combinations and sturdy courage in war. Religious dogmas, professional priests, extensive political organizations, hereditary chiefs, open councils for the discussion of public affairs, and systematic agriculture; all these were found among the tribes living in the eastern and southern parts of the continent and the nearest islands, but none of them existed in the central basin of California, or the valleys opening into San Francisco bay. The only sparks of industry and spirit were found in the deserts of the Colorado and the Mojave, in the bleak and rugged valley of the Klamath, or in a small district near Santa Barbara.

SEC. 2. *Discovery of California.* Mexico was conquered in 1519, and Peru in 1532. The prizes there taken were so great, that the Spanish adventurers in the New World, were full of hope that more such kingdoms might be found and plundered. They looked to the north-west coast of America as the possible seat of a wealthy empire, and they made great exertions to find it.

When Cortes went to the court of Charles V., in 1528, he was received with distinguished honor, and rewarded for his services to the empire with many concessions then considered important; among these was one, that he might conquer at his own expense any countries north-west of Mexico, annex them to the Spanish crown, keep for himself one twelfth of the precious metals and pearls, and retain the perpetual viceroyalty for himself and his male heirs. So soon as he had returned to Mexico, he commenced to make preparations for his new expedition of conquest, but various obstacles arose, and he did not go to sea in person until 1535. At last, he found nothing save the peninsula of Lower California, which was so barren that he soon abandoned the hope of finding anything there, and many difficulties prevented him from going further. When he returned to Mexico in 1537, he learned that during his absence, two Spaniards, who had landed with De Soto ten years before in Florida, had crossed the continent and reached Culiacan, bringing with them the report of a rich, populous, and extensive empire in the north-west. They did not pretend to have seen the country, or to have any precise knowledge of it, but they had heard general rumors of it. Their story corresponded so well with the greedy hopes and ambitions of the Spaniards, that it found ready faith, stimulated the desire to find another prize like Mexico, and led to the discovery of California by an expedition sent out in 1542 under José R. Cabrillo, who did not explore the shore anywhere, or see any sign of San Francisco, though he sailed northward to latitude 44°. The name of California was first used in an obscure Spanish romance, and there applied to an imaginary land lying north-west of Mexico, as known when the book was published, soon after the conquest of Mexico. As used geographically, California meant nothing but what has been called Lower California since 1769.

SEC. 3. *Drake.* In 1579, Sir Francis Drake, English navigator, who had been out plundering Spanish ships and towns on the western coast of South America and Mexico, determined to try to return to England by the passage supposed to exist in an open sea north of the American continent. He found the weather so cold in latitude 42°, that he turned southward again, preferring to run the risk of being taken by the Spaniards, while sailing in the South Pacific and passing the Straits of Magellan, rather than to face the chilly winds of the northern ocean. On the 17th of June, he entered a "faire good bay," "within thirty-eight degrees of latitude of the line." J. W. Dwinelle thinks that he anchored in Bolinas Bay in latitude 37° 54′, but a common opinion among navigators, that he entered the bay behind Point Reyes, induced them to give the name of Drake's Bay to that place, which is exactly in latitude thirty-eight, while the entrance of San Francisco bay is thirteen minutes farther south. If he had entered the last-named bay, it is not probable that he would have allowed it to pass with simply calling it "faire and good," without speaking of its large size, strong currents, magnificent entrance, fertile shores, secure anchorage, and numerous islands, matters which no intelligent navigator could overlook, and which he must have observed if he had entered. He came to the coast for the purpose of finding a passage to the Atlantic, and after observing such deep channels as as the northern and southern arms of San Francisco bay, he would scarcely turn back without examining them, or give an account of his voyage without mentioning them. He speaks, however, of numerous conies, and if by those he meant our ground-squirrels, he must have gone a considerable distance from Drake's bay, though they abound near ours. The "cony" is a rabbit, not a squirrel, and there are rabbits at Point Reyes. Here the Indians could build their houses close by the water-side, better than under the shelter of Point Reyes, and he says the Indians had their huts at the edge of the water.

He says further, that the country was governed by an Indian king, and that the Indians solicited Drake to stay and be their ruler. He accepted, on behalf of his sovereign, the crown and sceptre offered to him, by the aboriginal monach. Wherever the earth was examined, silver and gold were found in it. These assertions are so improbable, that they are unworthy of credence. The savages had no king, nor thought of a crown or sceptre, nor tongue intelligible to the English; but the chronicler may have made false statements for the sake of conveying the impression, that England had some kind of a claim to the new land.

r/

There is no specification of circumstances to give probability to the story about the finding of gold and silver, nor any account of a search for those metals, or of any specimens having been obtained by Drake. Gold and silver are not found in the earth near Drake's bay or the bay of San Francisco, and we have no reason to believe that he penetrated far inland.

The existence of a "San Francisco bay" near latitude 38° was known to the Spaniards soon after Drake made his voyage, and as there is no other way to account for its discovery or the origin of its name, it is possible that the Spaniards got their knowledge from

Drake and applied to the bay his first name altered to suit their tongue and creed. The bay of San Francisco may be considered the Spanish equivalent of the bay of Sir Francis.

SEC. 4. *Vizcaino.* In 1595, the "San Augustin," under command of Captain Cermeñon, was sent from Manila to examine the coast of California, which the annual galleon, on the way from the Phillipine Islands to Mexico, had to skirt, but he was wrecked in Drake's Bay, then known as San Francisco Bay. We are not told how this wrecked party escaped, but the pilot reached Mexico and occupied the same position seven years later in the exploring expedition of two vessels sent from Acapulco, under charge of Sebastian Vizcaino, who, after touching at San Diego and Monterey, also entered Drake's Bay, which the pilot recognized as the place where he had been wrecked. The description of Drake's Bay, as given in the account of this voyage in the history of California by Venegas, written about 1768, is unmistakable, but it is there called "the port of San Francisco," and there was no knowledge or suspicion of a larger and better harbor within a few miles. Vizcaino did not land at Drake's Bay, but spent only one night there, and continued his voyage to the northward, finding nothing of interest in the history of California.

No attempt was made to explore the coast by any vessel between 1603 and 1769, but in 1740 a Spanish map of it was published and it represented the Farallon Islands lying west of a circular bay with a diameter of thirty miles and a short and narrow entrance. No name is attached to it but the Spaniards knew of no other anchorage save San Francisco bay in this vicinity. We shall never know where the map-maker got his idea of the form of the bay. An old English chart presumptively prepared from Drake's information represents Drake's bay as semi-circular, which form agrees pretty well with theanchorage under Point Reyes, but is entirely inapplicable to the inland sea opening into the Pacific at the Golden Gate.

SEC. 5. *Missions Projected.* The expulsion of the Jesuits having been ordered in 1767, the Franciscan friars were instructed to take possession of the Jesuit missions in peninsular California, and also to establish new Missions which should protect the country farther north against seizure by the English or French, more especially the former, as the more enterprising in such matters, and the less friendly. The growth of Great Britain in commerce, industry, wealth, military power and reputation abroad, was extremely rapid about the middle of the eighteenth century. England had already become the greatest of mercantile and manufacturing nations. In four great wars France was beaten, humiliated, and almost broken, and in the last of them, with England, from 1756 to 1763, she lost her great possessions in Asia and America—Hindostan and Canada.

After the peace, which secured to Great Britain not simply the political dominion over these conquests, but the far more important profits of their commerce and almost exclusive possession of the sea, as a naval power and a shipping nation, she began to look around for further prizes. There was much talk of the new countries to be occupied, new colonies to be planted, and new islands to be discovered. Now that Canada was English, it was doubly important, if possible, to discover the north-west passage by sea between the two great oceans, from Baffin's or Hudson's Bay, westward. The exploring vessels of Cook, and other British navigators about the same time, did not sail until after the Missions had been established; but the preliminary talk had commenced years before, and the Spanish court was influenced, if not governed, by fears of English expeditions.

It was not the intention to establish towns too strong to be taken by the English, in case they should resort to force; but no war was then feared, and the mere occupation of a few points, it was thought, would be sufficient. The cheapest and simplest mode of taking possession of a distant country which offered no great prizes or precious metals, pearls or gems, would be to found Missions, and that was the method adopted. It was expected that these would be the beginnings of settlements, which in a generation or two would grow into valuable supports of the Spanish crown. At the same time that the king ordered the Jesuits to leave his kingdom and its dependencies, he provided that the Franciscan monks should succeed them in the management of the Missions of California, and that other Missions should be established farther north on the coast, which then, for the first time, was called Upper or New California, while the peninsula was designated as Old or Lower California.

The two best known ports in the former region, San Diego and Monterey, though one hundred and fifty miles apart were selected as sites for the first Missions to be established. There was abundant work in the vicinity of San Diego; and several Missions near one another in the southern district of the new country would be of less expense than the same number separated by long distances. The government at Madrid was well aware that the Missions in Lower California, after having been in existence for more than half a century, were constant and considerable burdens to the public treasury, and it could not be expected that the expense would be less for new Missions, so much more remote. The probable cost was not sufficient to outweigh the important object of securing the northwestern American coast to the Spanish crown, and so the occupation by missionaries was ordered. The convent of San Fernando, the principal establishment of the Franciscan monks in New Spain, was to have charge of the religious department. The superior of the convent selected Junípero Serra to be the head of the friars in California. In 1768, Serra, with fifteen Franciscans, arrived at Loreto, in Lower California, to succeed the sixteen Jesuits who had left the peninsula a few weeks before.

SEC. 6. *Franciscan Order.* The Franciscans made missionary labor among the poor their specialty. Their position in the Catholic church is like that of the Methodists in Protestantism; they carry the gospel to the lowly, and care less relatively for learning and social polish than the spirit of devotion. They are distinguished for humility, poverty, and self denial. They accept literally the command to have no surplus garments. One woolen gown tied at the waist by a hempen cord, with a pair of sandals, was their usual suit. This order was entrusted with the establishment of Spanish authority, and the Christian religion in California.

SEC. 7. *Junípero Serra.* Junípero Serra, the founder of the Missions, was born on the Island of Majorca, part of the kingdom of Spain, on the twenty-fourth of November, 1713. At the age of sixteen, he became a friar of the order of St. Francis, and the new name of Junípero was then substituted for his baptismal name of Miguel José. After entering the convent, he went through a collegiate course of study, and before he had received the degree of doctor, was appointed lecturer upon philosophy. He became a noted preacher, and was frequently invited to visit the large towns of his native island in that capacity.

Junípero was thirty-six years of age when he determined to become a missionary in the new world. In 1749 he crossed the ocean in company with a number of brother Franciscan friars, among them several who afterwards came with him to California. He remained but a short time in the city of Mexico, and was soon sent as a missionary to the Indians in the Sierra Madre, in the district now known as the state of San Luis Potosí. He spent nine years there, and then returned to the city of Mexico, where he stayed for seven years, in the convent of San Fernando. In 1767, when fifty-four years of age, he was appointed to the charge of the Missions to be established in Upper California. He arrived at San Diego, 1769, and with the exception of one journey to Mexico, he spent all the remainder of his life here, dying at the Mission of Carmel, near Monterey, on the twenty-eighth of August, 1784, aged seventy-one years.

Our knowledge of his character is derived almost exclusively from his biography by Palou, also a native of Majorca, a brother Franciscan friar who had been his disciple, came across the Atlantic with him, was his associate in the convent of San Fernando, his companion in the expedition to California, his successor in the presidency of the Missions of Old California, his subordinate afterwards in New California, his attendant at his death-bed, and his nearest friend for forty years or more. Under the circumstances, Palou had a right to record the life of his preceptor and superior.

Junípero Serra was a typical Franciscan, a man to whom his religion was everything. All his actions were governed by the ever-present and predominant idea that life is a brief probation, trembling between eternal perdition on one side, and salvation on the other. Earth, for its own sake, had no joys for him. His soul did not recognize this life as its home. He turned with dislike from nearly all those sources of pleasure in which the polished society of our age delights. As a friar, he had in boyhood renounced all the joys of love and the attractions of woman's society. The conversation of his own sex was not a source of amusement to him. He was habitually serious. Laughter was inconsistent with the terrible responsibilities of this probationary existence. Not a joke or a jovial action is recorded of him. He delighted in no joyous books. Art or poetry never served to sharpen his wits, lighten his spirits, or solace his weary moments. The sweet devotional poetry of Fray Luis de Leon and the delicate humor of Cervantes, notwithstanding the perfect piety of both, were equally strange to him. He knew nothing of the science and philosophy which threw all enlightened nations into fermentation a hundred years ago. The rights of man and the birth of chemistry did not withdraw his fixed gaze from the other world which formed the constant subject of his contemplation.

It was not enough for him to abstain from positive pleasure; he considered it as his duty to inflict upon himself bitter pain. He ate little, avoided meat and wine, preferred fruit and fish, and never complained of the quality of his food or sought to have it more savory. He often lashed himself with ropes, sometimes with wire; he was in the habit of beating himself in the breast with stones, and at times he put a burning torch to his breast. These things he did while preaching, or at the close of his sermons, his purpose being, as his biographer says, not only to punish himself, but also to move his auditory to penitence for their own sins. Palou relates the following incident, which occurred during a sermon which he delivered in Mexico. The precise date and place are not given:

> "Imitating his devout San Francisco Solano, he drew out a chain, and letting his habit fall below his shoulders, after having exhorted his auditory to penance, he began to beat himself so cruelly that all the spectators were moved to tears, and one man rising up from among them went with all haste to the pulpit, and taking the chain from the penitent father, came down with it to the platform of the presbytery, and following the example of the venerable preacher, he bared himself to the waist and began to do public penance, saying, with tears and sobs, 'I am the sinner, ungrateful to God, who ought to do penance for my sins, and not the father, who is a saint.' So cruel and pitiless were the blows, that in the sight of all the people he fell down. They supposing him to be dead, the last unction and sacrament were administered to him there, and soon after that he died. We may believe with pious faith that his soul is enjoying the presence of God."

Serra and his biographer did not receive the Protestant doctrine, that there have been no miracles since the apostolic age. They believed that the power possessed by the chief disciples of Jesus had been inherited by Catholic priests of their time, and they saw wonders where their contemporary clergymen, like Conyers Middleton and Joseph Priestly, saw nothing save natural mistakes. Palou records the following story with unquestioning faith:

"When Serra was traveling with a party of missionaries through the province of Huasteca, in Mexico, many of the villagers did not go to hear the word of God, at the first village where they stopped; but scarcely had the fathers left the place when it was visited by an epidemic, which carried away sixty villagers, all of whom, as the curate of the place wrote to the Reverend Father Junipero, were persons who had not gone to hear the missionaries. The rumor of the epidemic having gone abroad, the people in other villages were dissatisfied with their curates for admitting the missionaries; but when they heard that only those died who did not listen to the sermons, they became very punctual, not only the villagers, but the country people dwelling upon ranchos many leagues distant.

"Their apostolic labors having been finished, they were upon their way back, and at the end of a few days' journey when the sun was about to set, they knew not where to spend the night, and considered it certain that they must sleep on the open plain. They were thinking about this when they saw near the road a house, whither they went and solicited lodging. They found a venerable man, with his wife and child, who received them with much kindness and attention, and gave them supper. In the morning the fathers thanked their hosts, and taking leave, pursued their way. After having gone a little distance they met some muleteers, who asked them where they had passed the night. When the place was described, the muleteers declared that there was no house or rancho near the road, or within many leagues. The missionaries attributed to Divine Providence, the favor of that hospitality, and believed undoubtingly, that these hosts were Jesus, Mary and Joseph, reflecting not only about the order and cleanness of the house, though poor, and the affectionate kindness with which they had been received, but also about the extraordinary internal consolation which their hearts had felt there."

The vessel in which Serra crossed the Atlantic, having been caught by a terrible storm when within sight of Vera Cruz, sprang a leak, and the water continuing to rise in spite of the pumping, the sailors requested the captain to run upon the beach as the only way to escape from sinking in the open sea. He refused and the sailors spoke of mutiny. From these dangers Palou assures us, the ship was saved by a miracle. The friars, including Junípero, put their heads together and agreed that the proper thing to be done was to apply to the proper saint, who was to be found by lot. Each friar wrote the name of a saint on a scrap of paper; the scraps were thrown together and mixed up; and then one was taken out at random. It had the name of Santa Barbara, and it so happened by a fortunate coincidence that the day on which the event occurred was consecrated to her in the Catholic calendar. All on board shouted "hurrah for Santa Barbara" (*viva Santa Barbara*); at the moment the storm ceased; the wind which had been adverse became favorable, and in two days the vessel was at anchor in the harbor of Vera Cruz. These passages in the book of Palou must be supposed to represent the opinions of Serra as well as his companion, friend and biographer.

From 1752 till 1767, Serra was a commissioner of the inquisition in Mexico, the office was one which Franciscans seldom held, and in which they never distinguished themselves. We have no record of any of Junípero's labors in that capacity.

His religious convictions found in him a congenial mental constitution; he was even-tempered, temperate, obedient, zealous, kindly in speech, humble and quiet.

His cowl covered neither creed, guile, hypocrisy nor pride. He had no quarrels and made no enemies. He sought to be a simple friar, and he was one in sincerity. Probably few have approached nearer to the ideal perfection of a monkish life than he. Even those who think that he made great mistakes of judgment in regard to the nature of existence and the duties of man to society, must admire his earnest, honest and meek character.

SEC. 8. *First Expedition.* Arrangements having been previously made in Lower California by Inspector-general José Galvez, and President Junípero, two expeditions were sent by sea and two by land to San Diego. The little vessel "San Carlos" sailed from Cape San Lucas on the eleventh of January with twenty-five soldiers under Lieutenant Pedro Fages, and did not reach her destination till after a lapse of three months and a half, in which time she lost all her sailors save one by scurvy. The companion vessel "San Antonio" started a month later, and entered the harbor after eight of her sailors had died, on the eleventh of April, 1769, on which day the permanent occupation of California by white men begun. Captain Rivera and Friar Crespi, with the first land expedition reached San Diego on the fourteenth of May; Captain Portalá (destined to be the governor of the territory), and Father Junípero with the second on the first of July.

SEC. 9. *First Missions.* Not much time was lost or spent in idleness. So soon as Junípero arrived, he made preparations for active work. On the ninth of

July the "San Antonio" sailed for San Blas to get a number of sailors to supply the places of those who had died of the scurvy. The occupation of Monterey having been one of the most important objects of the expedition, Gov. Portalá set forth on the fourteenth of July by land, with friars Juan Crespi and Gomez, fifty-five other whites and some Indians, to find the port. On the eleventh of July the Mission of San Diego was founded—that is, a mass of unusual solemnity was said, and Father Junípero made a formal declaration that the site had been chosen for an establishment where the savages of New California should learn the doctrines of Christianity and the road of salvation.

When Crespi and Portalá, in their northward march, reached the mouth of the Salinas river, they looked for the harbor of Monterey, but saw no secure anchorage, and presuming that either there had been a mistake in the latitude, as mentioned in the books, or that the port had been filled up by sand in the century and a half since Vizcaino had examined the harbor, they went northward in search of it, or another port. Passing along the coast for several days after leaving Monterey bay, they then crossed the mountains to the western side of San Francisco bay, and on the seventh of November reached the end of the peninsula and discovered the Golden Gate. The diary of friar Crespi contains the first distinct mention of the bay, and with most authorities he has the credit of the discovery, though Dr. Stillman has made a plausible argument to prove that Drake is entitled to the honor.

SEC. 10. *Discovery of Bay*. The Spanish explorers did not imagine that they had made a discovery. They saw that the harbor was different from that of Monterey, described by Vizcaino, but they imagined it was the bay of San Francisco, mentioned by their navigators as lying under shelter of Point Reyes. Friar Juan Crespi, who may be considered the head of the expedition, not knowing that he had made a discovery, did on the seventh of November, 1769, discover the site and harbor of San Francisco, and he gave to them the name which they now bear.

So soon as Crespi reported that he had found an extensive and apparently a deep bay (he had no means of sounding), the idea arose that the bay and its immediate vicinity were destined to play an important part in the future of California. Although the friars had difficulties in maintaining the Missions already established, and keeping up a connection between them, they were anxious for another near the new harbor; but the purpose was not carried into effect until seven years later. Palou, in his biography of Serra, says:

> "As soon as I read this news, I attributed their failure to find the harbor of Monterey at the place designated on the ancient chart, to a divine disposal that they should continue their course until they should arrive at the port of San Francisco, for the reason that I am about to state: When the venerable father, Friar Junipero, was consulting with the illustrious inspector-general about the first three Missions which he directed him to

found in his New California, seeing the names and the patrons which he had assigned to them, he said to him: 'Señor, and is there no Mission for our father?' (St. Francis), to which Galvez replied: 'If St. Francis desires a Mission, let him see that his port is found, and it will be placed there.' The expedition went up, arrived at the port of Monterey, stopped and planted the cross without any of those of the party recognizing it, according to the description of it in history; went up forty leagues further, found the port of our father St. Francis, and recognized it immediately by its agreement with the marks which they had. In consideration of these facts, what shall we say but that our father wished to have a Mission at his port?"

SEC. 11. *Privations.* So soon as Portalá reached San Diego on his return, he made an examination of the stock of provisions, and found it so small that unless supplies should arrive before the twentieth of March, it would be necessary to abandon the country and return to the Missions of Lower California. The "San Antonio" had been overdue for months, but navigation was so uncertain in those days, and among those people, that the hope of seeing her was almost given up. As the time fixed for the departure approached, every preparation was made for the journey, and on the twentieth all were ready to start, when a sail was seen off the port. The vessel did not enter the harbor until four days later, but the sight of her put an end to all thoughts of abandonment. She brought sailors, provisions, funds and letters of encouragement and promise from the viceroy and inspector-general.

The maintenance of San Diego having been secured, it was determined that another attempt should be made to find Monterey. On the sixteenth of April, a party set out by land, and the next day the "San Antonio" sailed with Father Junípero on board. The land party reached the bay on the twenty-fourth May, and the barque on the thirty-first. The port was found precisely as described by Vizcaino, one hundred and sixty-seven years before. On the third of June, the Mission of San Carlos, and the presidio or fort of Monterey were founded, and a formal declaration was made that possession had been taken of the country in the name of the king of Spain. The Indians did not approach the Spaniards for several days, having been frightened by the discharges of artillery and musketry, but they soon recovered from their fears, and from that time forward were very friendly with the whites. The first savage was baptized on the twenty-sixth December, seven months after the foundation of the Mission.

The news of the establishment of the Mission and presidio at Monterey reached the city of Mexico on the tenth of August, 1770, and the viceroy, Marquis de Croix, and the inspector-general, Galvez, considered the fact so important for "the glory of God, the extension of our most holy Catholic religion, and the honor of our Catholic monarch," that they ordered all the church bells to ring in rejoicing. Accompanied by the high officials of the city, they attended a special mass, said for the occasion in the cathedral, and afterwards the viceroy, as representative of the king, received the congratulations of the principal officers and citizens. A couple of days later, a circular was printed, reciting the leading facts of the establishment of the two Missions of New California.

CHAPTER II.

THE MISSION ERA.

Section 12. *Visiting Expedition.* As the Missions prospered and the time was approaching when others must be established farther north, an exploring expedition was sent out in March, 1772, from Monterey, under charge of Friar Crespi. Instead of passing west of the bay as in 1769, he followed the eastern shore; on the twenty-sixth of that month passed the present site of Oakland, and four days later after going through Napa and Sonoma valleys, reached Russian river. From a hill near Carquinez strait he saw the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, thus seeing some of the most fertile and beautiful portions of California in his journey. The next time that the bay was seen was in December, 1774, on the fourth of which month Friar Palou, with a military escort, reached the end of our peninsula, and then returned with reports confirming those made in 1769, and 1772 by Crespi.

All wrong
agn

Señor Anza, who in 1774 had opened the land route between Sonora and California, the next year, under orders of the viceroy at Hermosillo, organized expedition of colonists, mostly married men, to settle at the projected Missions of Santa Clara and San Francisco. The news of this order was brought to Monterey in June, 1775, by the packet "San Carlos," under command of Lieutenant Ayala, and he had instructions to survey the great bay, which no vessel had yet visited, though six years had elapsed since Crespi and his companions had first looked down from the hills upon the inland sea and its magnificent entrance, though two sailing vessels were regularly employed in the traffic between Monterey and San Blas, and though the viceroy had sent a vessel in 1774 to explore the coast as far north as latitude fifty-five degrees.

Ayala entered the Golden Gate on the night of August 11, spent forty days in the bay, reached Monterey on the twenty-second of September, and assured Father Junípero that it was not a harbor but a multitude of harbors, in which all the navies of Spain could play hide and seek. Friar Crespi accompanied by the navigator Heceta (as his name is generally spelled), and a military escort, went by land to assist Ayala, if necessary, but did not arrive till the latter had departed.

Another expedition was sent to San Francisco from Monterey in the following March, and on the twenty-second of that month the sites of the projected Mission and Presidio, or fort, were selected.

We learn from the writings of Friar Palou, the founder of our Mission, that the site as then selected and afterwards occupied, was near a lagoon, the situation and size of which he did not accurately describe. It had disappeared before 1819, the earliest date to which witnesses now living can carry back their distinct recollection. A map on a scale of two miles to an inch of the end of our peninsula, in the report of La Perouse's voyage in 1786, copied probably from some Spanish chart (his expedition did not visit any Californian port save Monterey), shows a lagoon with an area of about three hundred acres in the neighborhood of Mission Cove, but the lines are so incorrect that it is impossible to ascertain from the map whether this water was north, south or east of the Mission, or how far from it. It was probably a hundred yards or so to the north-eastward where the ground is low. A slight ridge thrown across the little valley there would make a lagoon again. Palou, in his Notes on New California, speaking of the first visit of the Spaniards to San Francisco, says that Portalá, the commander of the expedition, traveling from the southward, along the shore of the bay, came to the cove of Llorones (the cry-babies, so styled because the Indians there began to weep when they saw the white men), and "crossed a creek which is the outlet of a large lagoon called the Lagoon of Dolores, and this appeared to him a good site for the Mission." The oldest residents know nothing of any tradition of a lake near the Mission, and we have no explanation for its disappearance.

SEC. 13. *First Settlement.* All the preliminaries having been arranged, the train of founders left Monterey on the seventeenth of June, 1776, under Friars Francisco Palou and Benito Cambon. The married civilian settlers numbered seven, and there were seventeen dragoons, also married, with large families, under command of Don José Moraga. They reached the site of the Mission on the twenty-seventh of June, and after spending the night there, moved the next day to the Presidio, which was to be the home of all save the friars. This was the beginning of the permanent settlement of white men on the site of San Francisco. Work was immediately commenced on some rude buildings, which were ready for occupation on the seventeenth of September, and the occasion was not allowed to pass without a public ceremony. Palou blessed the establishment, celebrated a mass, elevated and adored the holy cross, and chanted a *Te Deum*, after which Commandant Moraga took possession of the Presidio in the name of his royal master, the king of all the Spains, and salutes were fired by the dragoons and by the artillerymen with cannon, on land and on the packet.

Rivera, who was acting-governor of Upper California, had given orders that the Mission of San Francisco should not be founded until instructions were received from him, and as they had not arrived, Moraga went off to explore the rivers emptying into Suisun bay; but, after crossing the San Joaquin river, he found that the country was too extensive for his brief time and short supplies, so he turned about and reached San Francisco on the seventh of October. Nothing had been heard from Rivera, and the friars were impatient to dedicate their Mission, where they had put up some brush shelters, and Moraga authorized them to make the dedication the next day, which they did. A procession, comprising the entire male population, soldiers, settlers and sailors, headed by the priests, who bore aloft the banner of the cross and an image of St. Francis, marched from the Presidio to the Mission, where the sacred objects were placed on the altar. Father Palou, as the senior friar, chanted a mass and preached a sermon about the founder of his order, as the patron saint of the Mission. At proper intervals in the sacred ceremonies, the soldiers and sailors fired salutes of musketry.

The Mission dates from October 8; the military establishment from September 17, and the permanent settlement of the colonists in San Francisco from June 28, 1776. In the early history of California the Missions were the chief centers of population and influence, the Presidios being secondary and, to a considerable extent, subordinate. The soldiers were sent mainly to assist and protect the friars.

SEC. 14. *Mission Authority.* The site of the Mission of San Francisco was selected because of its political and commercial advantages. It was to be the nucleus of a seaport town that should serve to guard the dominion of Spain in its vicinity. Most of the other Missions were founded in the midst of fertile valleys, inhabited by large numbers of Indians; no other had so little tillable land or so few aborigines within a radius of ten miles. Even the few Indians living on the end of our peninsula, when Friar Palou and his party of founders arrived, soon left. On the twelfth of August, a San Mateo tribe attacked a rancheria, in or near Bay View valley, and gained such a victory that the defeated survivors and the neighboring tribes, afraid to remain, fled to the mountains north of the Golden Gate, or east of the bay, and stayed for several months sending back scouts occasionally to report upon the condition of affairs. When their accounts became favorable, the fugitives returned, but in December, some of them had a fight with Spanish soldiers, who killed one and wounded another. The consequence was another flight, and again they did not come back till after the lapse of several months. It was on the first of June, 1777, that the first converts were baptized; three of them were received into the church on the same day. They did not understand much Spanish, the only tongue in which they were instructed, but they could repeat the names of the persons of the holy trinity, of the saints, and of the leading mysteries of the faith, over after the friar; they could rehearse the prayers and a simple creed, kneel before the cross and the images, and when they could do all these things they were held worthy of baptism.

The Indians soon found that the Mission was not without its attractions. The Spaniards, provided with potent fire-arms and with horses, soon put an end to the petty wars between the tribes, and established a feeling of security which had never been felt before; relieving the red men from many anxieties and inconveniences. The adobe houses were more comfortable than the reed huts. The Mission herds furnished a regular supply of nutritious and palatable meat. The Mission garden had its pumpkins, melons, beans,

34965

turnips, and potatoes, and after a few years, the Mission orchard had its apples, pears, peaches and apricots. Wheat and barley were brought from the fields cultivated on the peninsula at a distance of fifteen or twenty miles or on the other side of the bay. The friars had a large stock of beads, and these were of great value in the eyes of the savages. Cloth and blankets from Mexico, or woven at the Mission, furnished better material for clothing than anything used by the Indians before the settlement of the white men among them.

SEC. 15. *Indian Women.* The influence of the women was used to strengthen the Missions. In their savage condition, the squaws were most abject slaves. If any work was especially tedious or disagreeable, they had to do it. They were not entitled to respect or sympathy under any circumstances, and the man who would put himself on a level with his sister, his mother, or his wife, was regarded as disreputable. The friars took the squaws under their protection, gave as much attention and instruction to them as to the men, treated them with a consideration which they had never received before, overthrew polygamy and its degrading influences, and shielded them against the brutality of the men. The mode of life at the Mission, and the improvement in the dwellings, food, clothing and treatment in case of illness, were all of more relative benefit to the women than to the men. Thus their favor was won and control was obtained over the children who held the future in their hands.

It must not be supposed, however, that the Indian women occupied a high position at the Mission. They were more happily situated than their sisters in the entirely savage state; but their fate was not enviable. Their clothing, food and dwellings were very rude, and their ordinary dress was nothing but a short, woolen petticoat. A piece of colored cotton to tie about the neck was a rarity. A single blanket served for bedding, and occasionally for a cloak. The head, the feet, the upper part of the body and the limbs were usually bare. The only article of kitchen furniture was a water-tight basket, made of wiregrass that grew on swampy land. When any boiled dish was needed, the material to be cooked was put in the basket with water, and heat was applied by throwing in red-hot stones. Vessels of metal or crockery for cooking or eating did not belong to the average household at the Mission. There was no mill to grind grain for the Indians. The women had to mash it on a flat stone, or grind it in a stone mortar by a slow process that took a considerable part of their time. There was no education for the women. They never were taught to read or to become skillful in the production of any article to which much value was attached. They learned to spin and weave coarse wool; but the loom was clumsy and slow, and the cloth rough. In the dwelling there was no table-furniture save a knife; no table, no bedstead, no bed-clothing save the blanket of each person, no chair, no glass in the windows, no chimney, and no wooden floor. In such a rude condition of society, it was impossible that woman could occupy a high position.

The unmarried women were locked up every night under charge of old women, and were always carefully guarded. As they were fewer in number than the men, the friars were careful to give the desirable girls as wives to the industrious of the young men, who thus had strong motives to be faithful.

SEC. 16. *Indian Men.* The life of the Indian men was not luxurious. Their working-dress was nothing but a cloth round the loins, and a shirt; their head, legs and feet being bare. The vaqueros or herdsmen, however, and the captains, were provided with trowsers and shoes. Some of the boys were taught to read and to sing from notes, but they were very few; the great majority were left in the most abject ignorance.

The Indians were treated like children. They were not allowed to own property, to cultivate land on their own account, to control their children, to select their occupations or place of residence, to choose their captains, or to determine the times when they would work or play, nor could they leave the Mission without the consent of the Friar Superior. The red converts, as well as the wild Indians, were designated in the Spanish speech as *gente sin razon*, people without reason or senseless; while the whites, or those containing Spanish blood, were *gente de razon*, or reasoning beings. This contemptuous title for the Indians was common in conversation and in official documents, and was thus impressed upon the common mind. If the Indians refused to work or to attend religious service, they were not secure against the lash, and we are even told that sometimes the goad (a stick with a sharp iron point) was used to keep order in church, the beadle reaching over with it to punch the fellow who did not show a proper spirit of devotion.

While the red men were believed to be very near the brutes, intellectually, and were looked upon as incompetent to take proper care of themselves, there was little aversion on the part of the Spaniards or Mexicans to association or inter-marriage with them; and a large majority of the native Californians of Spanish blood are the descendants of Indian women. The numerous ties of influential relationship thus established did not suffice to prevent the rapid decrease of the pure Indian blood. No red man living at the Mission of San Francisco founded a family that still exists, or ever distinguished himself sufficiently to deserve special mention of his name in local history. As a general rule, the Indians had no family name, as if there was no expectation that they would leave descendants who would feel any interest in their ancestry. The red men are mentioned in the church records simply as Juan, Pedro, or Pablo.

SEC. 17. *Savage Life.* The male Indians near the Mission, before coming under the influence of the friars, went naked, except that in cold weather they daubed themselves over with mud, which they washed off when the sun became warm. Acorns, hazel nuts, wild seeds, the amole or soap plant, mussels, clams, wild geese and ducks, seals and occasionally a putrid whale landed on the beach, supplied most of their food.

SEC. 18. *Convert Life.* Of the converts Palou says:

> We have at this Mission baptized three infants, born within two months, all children of one Gentile man by three sisters, his wives, and not content with this, he also had his mother-in-law for a wife; but it pleased God that he and his four wives should be converted, and he remained alone with the eldest sister, who had been his first wife, and the others, after their baptism, were married to other men according to the Roman ritual; and with this example, and with that which is preached and explained to them, they are abandoning polygamy and reducing themselves to our holy Catholic faith, and all those reduced live in the town within hearing of the bell, going twice daily to the church to repeat the Christian doctrine, supporting themselves by the harvests which they grow of wheat, maize, beans, and so forth. They already gather fruits of the Castilian peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, and so forth, which were planted in the beginning. All are dressed in clothes obtained by the Mexican fathers on account of the public treasury, and as gifts from various benefactors.

SEC. 19. *Indian Work.* At sunrise all the people near the Mission were summoned to mass by the bell, and attendance was compulsory. After mass came breakfast, and then all the men and the unmarried women were required to work till eleven o'clock. A rest of three hours was allowed at noon, after which they worked till the afternoon mass, an hour before sunset. The chief occupations of the men were plowing, sowing, harrowing, harvesting, threshing and hauling grain, herding the cattle, breaking horses, cutting and bringing wood for fuel, building houses, baking tiles and weaving. There were a few carpenters, blacksmiths, tanners and shoemakers at every Mission, but they knew little of their trades, and had a scanty supply of bad tools.

The processes of agricultural labor were extremely rude. The plow was shod with a piece of iron a little larger than a man's hand, and it scratched the ground but did not turn a furrow nor even cut one. It was drawn by one yoke of oxen and the yoke was tied to their horns with strips of rawhide. One plow made a little scratch, another followed in the same track, and then another, and six plows were required to do as much work, though not so well, as one American would with an American plow. Horses were not used for draft purposes; and there was not a light wagon in the country. The only vehicle was the carreta, or cart, with wheels of solid wood six inches wide at the tire and eight or ten inches at the hub. The carreta was twice as heavy as its load, and it sometimes moved faster than a mile an hour. The harrow was a branch of a tree; and grain was cut with a sickle or pulled up by the roots, and threshed by treading it out with horses, and separated from the chaff by throwing it up into the air on a windy day.

SEC. 20. *No Education.* The submission of the Indians to the friars; their acceptance of baptism; their repetition of the names of the mysteries, divine persons and saints, their regular attendance at worship; their observance of the disciplinary rules, even if under compulsion; their freedom from all heretical ideas and their veneration for the sacred images and other emblems of the Catholic faith, were considered all that was necessary to fit them for full membership in the church.

The friars did not restrict themselves to persuasion in getting converts after they had brought all the tribes in the near vicinity of the Mission under their power; they sent out soldiers with tame Indians to bring in others. Such an expedition was despatched from San Francisco nearly every winter in the early part of this century, to the foot-hills of the Sierra Nevada, and sometimes returned with a hundred or more captives, who had been surprised in their rancherias. To go out for a purpose was styled *ir a la conquista*, "to go out conquering;" or *hacer reducciones*, "to make reductions" for the cause of Jesus. The attempts to catch subjects for conversion in the summer were usually failures, and were not always successful in the winter. While Beechey was in San Francisco bay with his exploring vessel in 1826, a party from the Mission of Santa Clara were beaten off in an attack on a rancheria in the Sierra Nevada with a loss of thirty-four men, and a new expedition sent out to the same place lost forty-one men, but captured forty-four Indians, mostly women and children. Sometimes the wild Indians came to the Missions voluntarily, under persuasion of their relatives; and often the harboring of fugitives, or the stealing of cattle from the Mission was the cause of attack on wild tribes, whose proximity and hostility to the Missions were frequently the cause of trouble.

SEC. 21. *Number of Indians.* The increase in the number of Indians under the control of the Mission was due to the introduction of new stock from without, and not to the increase from within by the natural surplus of births over deaths. The Indians of California did not thrive anywhere under the care of the friars; and perhaps there was no Mission where they throve less than at San Francisco. The women gave birth to few children, and reared four boys for three girls. They must have discriminated in the treatment of the two sexes. Nothing but deliberate intention entertained by many mothers could account for the small proportion of girls. Such a purpose to check the increase of women has often been observed among savages; and unless we suppose its existence at the Mission, we cannot account for the excess of males.

Very soon after the white men established themselves in the country, the Indians began to diminish. Various destructive diseases, unknown before, made their appearance. The small pox raged with fearful violence; the measles carried off many adults as well as children, and an infection caught from the soldiers spread like a slow but sure poison. There was no physician in the territory, nor any intelligent medical attendance for any of the new diseases. Vaccination was practiced on a few of the whites, but was not applied to the red men, nor was the more convenient and yet effective inoculation tried. The food was sometimes scanty and not always wholesome; and injurious effects were attributed to the practice of locking up the unmarried adults at night in close, filthy chambers.

Sec. 22. *Great Mortality.* Whatever may have been the causes of the mortality among the Indians of the Mission of San Francisco, there is no room for doubt about the results. The deaths, instead of being four for each hundred persons, as they are in sickly seasons among highly civilized people, numbered from ten to twenty annually, and sometimes even more. The females, instead of being as numerous as the males, were usually fewer by one fourth or a larger proportion. The women should have reared three children each on an average to prevent a decrease of the population, but they did not rear two. About half the children baptized were born of Gentile parents, or of parents recently brought to the Mission.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Missions were prosperous institutions until their secularization. They were not even self-supporting. They were for a long time a burden on the government. The friars complained of serious inconvenience when their salaries of four hundred dollars each (spent usually not for their personal advantage, but for the purchase of articles needed by the Missions) were cut off by the civil war in Mexico; and though there was a steady increase in the number of Indians under control of the friars until about 1815, there was a rapid decrease of the total number of Indians within reach of the Missions, indicating the probability that the race would in a few centuries disappear, as it has since disappeared in nearly all those districts of California once occupied by the Missions. There could, of course, be no true prosperity of the Indians with a steady and rapid decrease of their number. Such a decline is undeniable. We might suspect that there was some physical weakness in the Indian blood, but no proof can be found to sustain such a supposition. The descendants of the Indian women who married Spaniards became a strong, large, healthy, and remarkably prolific race, with pleasant countenances and respectable capacities. Those Indians who never came to the Missions were healthy and strong, and, though not very prolific, did not commence to die off rapidly till after the Americans took possession of their country.

The result was the same at most of the other Missions. Not an Indian remains at San Rafael, Sonoma, San José or Santa Clara; and those who survive about the Missions farther south do no credit as a class to the instruction given to their fathers. But, however defective may have been the system of the friars, we have the most conclusive evidence that the weakening and overthrow of the Spanish authority, the secularization of the Missions, and the American conquest, were more disastrous to the aborigines of California. They were happier when the Missions were at the summit of their power than ever afterward. From the time when they first heard of the rebellion for independence in Mexico until now, nearly every political change affecting their condition has been a change seriously for the worse as to them. If the Missions did not succeed in establishing a high and permanent civilization among the red men of California, the blame must not be thrown upon the Franciscan friars. The Jesuit Missions in Lower California, after the labors of three quarters of a century, had not secured better results; and the reservations maintained by the federal government in this state, for the last twenty years, have been miserable failures. The Franciscan experiment does not suffer by comparison with the influence of the Jesuits, or of the Mexican or American politicians upon the aborigines of the coast, and may even be said, unsatisfactory as it was, to have been a relative success.

It was perhaps well that the Indians were not capable, under such instructions as they received, of raising themselves to the level of Spanish civilization. It would have been a great misfortune for California to have been occupied in 1846 by a dense Indian population, knowing just enough to support and defend themselves, ignorant, fanatical, idle, and hostile to foreigners and foreign ideas, manners, machinery and mode of working. There would have been little room for Americans, and the few, who would have come, would have found themselves powerless unless they submitted themselves to base prejudices, and thus sacrificed a large part of their superiority. The state might have struggled for centuries before its inhabitants reached the highest level of civilization, as they have now done in a single generation.

The number of the Indians was never ascertained, or officially estimated under Spanish or Mexican dominion, but several early travelers speak in vague terms of multitudes in some of the larger valleys. As they had no agriculture, commerce, manufacturing industry, regular supply of wholesome food, or secure peace, and they were exposed to the occasional, if not the frequent, ravages of war, pestilence and famine, so the land could not maintain a dense population, and it probably never had more than one hundred thousand or one hundred and fifty thousand aboriginal inhabitants.

SEC. 23. *Friars.* It was the rule that there should be two friars at each Mission; the elder, as superior in authority, to conduct the worship on important occasions, to instruct and govern the Indians, manage the finances and keep the records; the younger to supervise the manual labor. Every year the Superior made a report of the number of the baptisms, marriages, births, deaths, neat cattle, horses, sheep, goats, swine, and bushels of grain harvested, to the President of the Missions, at Monterey; and he compiled a table of all the Missions under him for the Viceroy of Mexico, who transmitted a copy to the King at Madrid. The feeling between the Indians and the friars was usually a very friendly one. The friar when he met an Indian said to him, "Love God, my son;" and the reply was, "Love God, father."

Eight or ten soldiers were stationed at each Mission. One was always on guard in front of the main entrance; another was usually out as herdsman with the horses and cattle; and when a friar was called away from a Mission for any transient purpose, or sent a letter, a soldier served as companion or messenger.

The red men were spoken of as wards, who owned the property of the Mission, and the friars were the guardians, who had absolute control of the persons and property of their wards. Humble and poor as the Franciscan order claimed to be, the Franciscans in California held and enjoyed nearly all the power and wealth of the country, such as they were. Their authority over the Indians was despotic, but it was not used harshly. Every Indian was required to work, but the labor was not arduous nor long continued. Though the friars kept the best of everything for themselves, the best was not very good. They dressed meanly, had a simple table, and plain apartments.

Of the friars who had charge of the Mission of San Francisco, we know little beyond the names, with the exception of Francisco Palou, who reached higher office than any of his associates, ending his career as principal of the order in Mexico. Although he had little education, and lived in the mental atmosphere of the thirteenth instead of that of the latter part of the seventeenth century, still he had good powers of observation and an active mind, and was probably the ablest of all the Franciscans who came to California. He was the only one who wrote for the press, and he has left the most enduring and accessible evidences of his capacity. His biography of Junípero Serra enables us to see nearly as much of his own as of his hero's character, and entitles him to as much admiration. This book and his Notes on New California, have a permanent historical interest, for California at least.

The later friars wrote little, save the annual statistical reports, and nothing from which we can obtain distinct ideas of their character or influence. They furnished no other material for the historian or antiquarian. Soon after the death of Serra, which occurred in 1787, Palou returned to Mexico, and Cambon, his younger associate, became the Superior friar at San Francisco, but was soon superseded by Danti; and he by Abella, who served for twenty years, commencing in 1797. Altimira was in charge when Mexico declared her independence, but not liking the new dominion, he left the country. Estenaga, who had been his junior associate, succeeded him, and was alone for twelve years, remaining until after the secularization.

SEC. 24. *Mission Buildings.* Materials for a history of the Mission buildings are very scanty. The adobe church, erected in the last century, is presumptively the same structure which still stands on Dolores street, near Sixteenth. Ten years is not an unreasonable period to assume as the interval between the foundation of the Mission and the final consecration of its permanent house of worship. The work was nearly all done by the Indians, who had to be previously converted, conciliated, and instructed in Spanish and in various useful arts unknown to them in their savage state. The making of a supply of adobes sufficient for such a building was a simple process, but it required a combination and persistence in labor beyond the experience of the red men of California. It was necessary, also, to get timbers for rafters, and even if we suppose that these were nothing but rude poles, to place them on the ground was a serious task. Even as late as 1820, not a good wagon or a good boat had been made, nor even purchased, for ordinary business purposes, by any Spanish Californian at San Francisco; and it is probable that many of the timbers used in building in the last century were transported from the forests on the shoulders of men.

Other matters required attention before the building of the church. The erection of dwellings for the friars, soldiers and converts, the cultivation of the ground and the herding of the cattle, took precedence. All this went very slowly, because of the absolute ignorance of the Indians, of whom there were for years very few. The first converts were made in 1777, when three were baptized; and we have no report of the numbers from that time until seven years later, when there were two hundred and sixty red Christians. The average increase was about thirty in a year, and not more than one in four was an adult male competent to do much work. If the Indians learned to speak Spanish, to break horses, to herd cattle, to plow, sow, reap and thresh, to make and lay adobes, and to cut and hew timber, besides building their dwellings and their church, in ten years, they must have been driven harder than it was the custom of the friars to drive them in later times.

The church, when first built, was doubtless thatched with flags or tules, which could be obtained without trouble and supported on light poles; whereas the molding and burning of tiles were comparatively abstruse arts, and the tiles when made required a strong framework to bear their weight.

We do not find any account that the Mission church at San Francisco was ever rebuilt or seriously injured. An earthquake in 1808 shattered the houses at the presidio, but the annual report of Friar Abella for that year mentions no damage at the Mission. In 1812, the church at San Juan Capistrano was thrown down, and the buildings at Purisima, Santa Inez, San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara injured; but San Francisco was spared. So it was again in 1818, when Santa Clara suffered so much by earthquake that a new church was erected there.

SEC. 25. *Mission Income.* There was an average increase of about thirty Indians annually at San Francisco, from its foundation for nearly forty years till 1813, when the number was one thousand two hundred and five; and then there was a decrease at about the same rate till the secularization in 1835. The most remarkable break in the regularity of the figures occurred between 1822, when there were nine hundred and fifty eight Indians, and 1823, when only two hundred were left. In 1808, eighty-four Indians fled and never were brought back; and in 1823 so many fled that not enough remained to take care of the Mission property. Part of the decrease in 1822 was caused by the transfer of Indians to the new Missions of San Rafael and Sonoma. The wealth of the Mission rose and fell with the number of its subjects. The following table shows how many Indians, neat cattle, horses and sheep, and bushels of grain in annual crop, it had in various years of its existence:

Years..........	*1783*	*1793*	*1804*	*1813*	*1822*	*1832.*
Indians......	215	704	1103	1205	958	204
Cattle	308	2700	8120	9270	4049	5000
Sheep.......	183	2300	10400	10120	8830	3500
Horses	31	314	730	622	806	1000
Grain			2474	6114	4124	691

Before 1815, the Mission produced little that had any salable value. The only vessels admitted into the ports of the country for purposes of trade belonged to Spain, and they were so slow and so badly managed that the freight left no margin for profit in exportation. It was not until after the independence of Mexico had been established that the exportation of hides and tallow became an extensive business. About 1840 a ranchero could sell one fourth of his neat cattle every year, getting five dollars from each animal slaughtered, two dollars for its hide and three dollars for its tallow. The management of the Missions was not so strict as that of individuals, and the hides and tallow which the former could dispose of annually was as much as they could get by killing one seventh of their neat cattle. The Mission of San Francisco thus could obtain from three thousand five hundred dollars to five thousand dollars a year from its hides and tallow annually, after 1822, and it had no other merchantable article to spare. It needed all its grain for home consumption, and horses and sheep were ordinarily not salable. The pay for its exports was a small sum to purchase imports for several hundred persons, and it was besides usually given in merchandise not of the best quality, and at high prices.

SEC. 26. *Decay of Missions.* The rebellion that broke out in Mexico in 1810 soon made itself felt in California. From 1811 to 1818 the government failed to pay the four hundred dollars, promised annually to each friar, and the government vessels which had brought the imports and carried away the exports ceased to make their trips regularly. The revolutionary and anti-ecclesiastical spirit of the time declared that the Missions ought to be secularized, and the friars and the people understood that this idea would be made the basis of a law at some future period. The civil and military officials, who had never agreed very well with the friars, became more antagonistic to them; and the latter, feeling less secure, were less contented and less zealous. The friars born in Spain were attached to the Spanish crown. They hated the revolution and the institutions which it had established. The new government, finding that the priests and friars were not friendly to it, became hostile to them; and one measure of hostility was secularization, which had been demanded by the Spanish Cortes as early as 1813. It meant that the Indians should be taken from the control of the friars and converted into free and independent citizens, with full power to own property, select their place of residence, and direct their own conduct; that each head of a family should be entitled to the gift of as much land as he could cultivate; that the herds and tools and other personal property of each Mission should be divided among its Indians; and that the surplus land should be given to white colonists. While secularization was considered just and patriotic, it was also in favor with the politicians as a measure that would reduce the political power and money resources of the clergy.

CHAPTER III.

THE VILLAGE ERA.

SECTION 27. *Secularization.* The Mexican Congress, assuming that the people were competent to maintain an orderly republican government, and believing that the Mission Indians of California, most of whom had been born under the dominion and bred under the instruction of the friars, must be competent for the duties of civilized life and equal political privileges, on August 17, 1833, passed a bill announcing that the government would proceed to secularize the Missions of Upper and Lower California, but making no provision for the time or manner of carrying the intention into effect.

The matter was thus left to the discretion of the executive department, and on August 9, 1834, Governor Figueroa, of California, acting under instructions from the President of the Republic, issued a decree that he would, in August, 1835, convert ten of the Missions into pueblos or towns. These ten were not then nor afterwards named. The friars at the Missions were to be deprived of all control over the Mission property, which should be placed in charge of an administrator, who should give to every adult male Indian a tract of twenty-eight acres; and his fair share of one half of the domestic animals and tools of the Mission; the other half to be held for the benefit of the government.

Subsequently, Gumecindo Flores was appointed administrator of the Mission of San Francisco; but between the time of the announcement that the secularization would be made and his appointment, many of the cattle had been driven off; the Indians, left without control, went away; and soon there was nothing to divide and nobody to receive the dividends. We have no precise account of the manner in which Flores administered his trust. We know, however, that in the brief period of forty years since the secularization, all the Indian tribes of the San Francisco peninsula, so far at least as the pure blood is concerned, have disappeared from the face of the earth. Immediately upon the announcement that the friars were to be deprived of their power, cultivation was neglected; and the Indians, instead of proving their capacity to become independent and prosperous citizens, wasted what little property was given to them, and fell into idle or dissolute habits. Some became the servants of rancheros; others went to the mountains and ran wild; and a few remained about the Mission in beggary, or on its verge. Such were the results of emancipating the Indians of San Francisco from the subjection in which they had been bred.

When the friars were deprived of their authority by the order of secularization, twenty-one Missions were in existence, all near the coast, reaching from San Diego to Sonoma, five hundred miles in a direct line, but the average distance between neighboring Missions by the roads was forty miles, or a day's ride. Their jurisdictions met, so that the whole coast from Sonoma southward, was considered to be occupied. The only towns were Los Angeles, Branciforte (near Santa Cruz), and San José, and the entire white population was estimated to number five thousand, of whom all, save perhaps two score, were of Spanish blood. The Mexicans relied on their herds for support, lived with little effort or care, and generally knew nothing of schools, books, or newspapers.

+ SEC. 28. *Land Grants.* The private land titles of the peninsula of San Francisco date from 1835, previous to which time the Mission held control for thirty miles southward from the Golden Gate, meeting the old domain of the Mission of Santa Clara at San Francisquito creek. Although great abuses were practiced in the overthrow, or, as it was officially called, the "secularization" of the Missions, the measure was demanded by sound statesmanship. Without it there was no hope for the progress of the country. It was required as a matter of justice to the Spanish-American settlers, whose fathers had been induced to come to California in 1773 with the promise that they should be raised to the position of independent colonists; but after a lapse of sixty years they, or rather their children, were still the tenants at will of the Mission, with little chance of support save such as they could find at the ruined presidio. The government had forbidden them to own land, gave them no encouragement to build houses, provided no pasture for their cattle, discouraged the sale of their produce to foreign vessels, and provided no market for their labor. Such was the situation of the Spanish-Americans, or, as they were called, *gente de razon*—"people of reason"—on the peninsula of San Francisco in 1835. To these citizens, the official announcement in that year that the Missions were to be secularized was very welcome, and they soon began to apply for grants of land. The residents at the Mission, most of them formerly soldiers at the presidio, were the grantees of a large part of the land on the peninsula. In some cases years elapsed after the first application before the grant was made in absolute terms.

The first title issued for land on our peninsula, was that of the Rancho Laguna de la Merced—two thousand two hundred and twenty acres—given in 1835 to J. A. Galindo. The San Pedro rancho, eight thousand nine hundred and twenty-six acres, about four miles south of lake Merced, was given to F. De Haro, later in the same year. The Buri-Buri rancho, of fifteen thousand seven hundred and ninety-three acres, south of the Sán Bruno mountain, was given to Francisco Sanchez. It was in 1840 that José C. Bernal received the grant of the Potrero Viejo, including Hunter's Point and the basin of Islais creek, with an area of four thousand four hundred and forty-six acres; Jacob P. Leese, the only foreigner among the grantees of ranchos on our peninsula, in 1841 obtained the Visitacion rancho, of eight thousand eight hundred and eighty acres, adjoining

Bernal on the south; and the San Miguel grant, of four thousand four hundred and forty-three acres, including the Mission hills and extending southward nearly four miles, was given in 1845 to J. J. Noe.

Beside these grants, which were confirmed and have become the foundation of the present titles, various other grants were solicited, but the titles were not perfected. Angel Island was given in 1838 to A. M. Osio, but he never occupied it and the claim was rejected. The archives contain the petition of Joaquin Piña for a square league of land at Point Lobos, and also a favorable report from a local official to the effect that the tract was vacant and could properly be granted; but no grant was made, and the claim was never presented to the courts. Francisco Guerrero and H. D. Fitch made an application on the thirteenth of May, 1846, for two leagues and a half west of Yerba Buena, but before action could be taken the country had been conquered. A petition by Benito Diaz for a league of land at the presidio was in the same condition. F. De Haro obtained leave to pasture his cattle on the potrero, including several thousand acres between the Mission creek and Mission cove, on the north and Islais cove on the south, and his heirs laid claim to the land as theirs in fee-simple, but the United States supreme court rejected the title. One of the most troublesome claims to land, within the city limits, was that of Peter Sherreback; purporting to be a grant for two thousand two hundred acres, seven hundred and twenty yards square, including most of the land bounded by Third, Sixth, Howard and Brannan streets. The title was confirmed by the United States district court in 1859, but a new hearing was granted, and the testimony indicative of fraud in the matter of the boundaries was so strong that the claim was abandoned.

A third class of claims consisted of those rejected under suspicion or proof of fraud. No records pertaining to them were found in the archives. Among these were a grant for Goat Island, purporting to have been made to Juan Castro in 1838; a grant for a square league west of Yerba Buena, purporting to have been made to Fernando Marchena, on the fourteenth of August, 1844; the Santillan and the Limantour grants. The Santillan, based on a paper dated on the tenth of February, 1846, conveyed to Prudencio Santillan, at that time parish priest at the Mission, all the vacant lands that formerly belonged to the Mission, south of Yerba Buena and the presidio. Under the Mexican customs, priests were considered incompetent to become grantees of ranchos, and this grant was unheard of until four years after its date. The federal supreme court rejected it as a fraud. J. Y. Limantour presented to the United States land commission two papers purporting to grant lands within the present limits of the city of San Francisco. One, dated on the twenty-seventh of February, 1843, gave to him the tract between California street and Mission creek, extending out to the westward till it made two leagues; and, also, a second tract of two leagues, west of Yerba Buena. The other gave to him Goat and Alcatraz islands. Both documents were proved to be forgeries. It is worthy of remark, that the fraudulent claims of Santillan and Limantour covered about twelve thousand acres of the same land, and within the limits of both claims, Sherreback wanted his two thousand two hundred acres. The invalid Mexican grants were three deep over a considerable area.

SEC. 29. *Pueblo.* The Mexican congress had shown its purpose in the colonization and secularization laws and other enactments to encourage and aid the establishment of a pueblo, or town, near every Mission; and there was no Mission in California where a pueblo was more urgently demanded by public considerations than that of San Francisco. Although the population was not so large as at most other Missions, still it had already reached a respectable figure, and there was a certainty of a steady increase in the extensive and fertile valleys round the bay, and the value of the harbor for commerce and incidentally for military and naval purposes was universally admitted. The pueblos, which Gov. Figueroa intended to found, and which the law contemplated, were to be composed of white men and Indians together. Red men who had been bred at the Missions, and were disposed to live among the whites, and accept the mode of life common among them, were to be recognized as full citizens, with all the rights to demand lots in town and ranchos in the country, enjoyed by any other class of citizens. There was no provision for a white pueblo or an Indian pueblo; nor any discrimination in political rights on the ground of race, color or previous relation to the authority of the Missions. The Mission Indians were to be raised from the class of *gente sin razon* to *gente de razon*, from unreasoning to reasoning beings.

This purpose failed throughout California. No political or military leader attempted to secure to the Indians the rights offered to them by the law, and the reason was that they were so weak intellectually that the attempt would certainly have failed, and their advocate would have ruined himself without doing any good to them.

The governor who had announced secularization and promised the establishment of pueblos at ten of the Missions, died in September, 1835, before he could carry out his plans. After his death, the new governor felt less regard for the purposes of the law in reference to pueblos and the Indians, and in consequence of repeated revolutions, the business of the administration was in great confusion.

No order was ever issued establishing a pueblo at San Francisco, but it was assumed that one was to be established, though there was a question whether it was to be at the Mission or at Yerba Buena, or whether it was to include both places. In the summer of 1835, Wm. A. Richardson, an Englishman who had settled in California in 1822, and had made his home at Saucelito, moved to Yerba Buena, set up a tent on the place now known as No. 811 Dupont street, and went into the business of collecting hides and tallow from various places on the bay. The Mission of San Francisco and that of San José had each had a little thirty-ton schooner, which had been built by the Russians at Fort Ross. These schooners, after having been in service some time, got leaky, and sank in the creeks of their respective Missions. Both had been abandoned, when Richardson made his appearance, and offered to raise their schooners and carry the freight of the Missions free for the use of the vessels and Indian crews. The offer was accepted, and Richardson had become regularly established in business before the end of the year. He charged one dollar per bag of tallow, and twelve and one half cents per hide for bringing those articles from the various landings on the bay to Yerba Buena cove, where they were transferred to American vessels, which had previously anchored near the presidio or the Mission. Richardson induced them to come to Yerba Buena.

Acting under the general law of Mexico, which permitted towns to select their officials, the people at the Mission, on the twenty-seventh of November, 1835, held an election for alcalde, and chose J. J. Estudillo to the place of alcalde for a term of one year, with power to grant lots within the limits of the town, which limits had not been and were not afterwards authoritatively defined under Mexican law. The village was usually called Dolores, which was also the name of the creek, and was frequently substituted for Assis in the name of the Mission, indifferently called San Francisco de Assis or San Francisco de Dolores, to distinguish it from San Francisco Solano, the name of the Mission at Sonoma. Dolores is the Spanish for sorrows or sufferings, and is a favorite name in the Catholic church of Spain.

SEC. 30. *Leese.* In the winter of 1835–36, Jacob P. Leese, an American then residing in Los Angeles, and engaged in business there, was advised by some shipmasters trading on the coast to establish a store and commission house at San Francisco, where they thought he might thrive. The annual exports included twenty thousand hides, and two million pounds of tallow, and the ships lost much time for the want of some one to collect these articles. There was no store or commission house at the place; the business was increasing, and an American could succeed better than a person of any other nationality, because the ships were mostly from Boston and New York.

Mr. Leese determined to follow the advice of his friends. In March, he went to Monterey, communicated his plans to his friends Nathan Spear and Wm. Hinckley, and induced them to join him in a partnership to establish a store. He returned to Los Angeles, where he closed up his business, and then started for San Francisco, which he had not yet visited.

Shortly before he left Los Angeles, the first instance of lynch law in California occurred there. A young married woman named Verdugo deserted her husband for another man, whom she loved better. Señor Verdugo applied to an alcalde for an order that his wife should live with him, and, after a deliberate examination, the order was granted. Thereupon Verdugo took his wife on his horse and started for his ranch, which he never reached. He was murdered on the road by the wife and her paramour. The proof was conclusive; the circumstances were revolting. Popular indignation rose to a great height. There was a general demand for prompt punishment appropriate to the offense. That could be obtained by lynch law only. The Californian courts of jurisdiction in capital cases never had taken decisive action; a case intrusted to them never came to a decision. Homicides, though frequent, were never punished by law. If the murder of Verdugo should go unpunished, there could be no security. The people who spoke thus, therefore, took the law into their own hands, tried the offenders, convicted them, and sentenced them to death. Everything was done in a very deliberate manner, and with every respect for the moral rights of the accused. A careful record was kept of the proceedings, and after the conviction, the accused were kept for two days, waiting for a priest to come from San Gabriel to confess them. The alcaldes, who happened to be Don Manuel Requena and Don Abel Stearns, favored the proceeding, or at least did not attempt any serious resistance.

Mr. Leese, as he intended to visit the capital of the territory, Monterey, where he might be arrested for a violation of the law, took a certified copy of the record of the trial, and of the agreement, by which the citizens engaged in it had bound themselves to stand by one another. When he reached Santa Barbara, he was told that a new governor had just arrived from Mexico, and was invited to call upon him. Mr. Leese went to the house of Don Carlos Carrillo, where he found Governor Chico, who had been appointed by the President of Mexico to succeed Governor Gutierrez, governor *ad interim*, after the death of Figueroa. Chico requested Leese to spend a day in Santa Barbara, and keep him company to Monterey. The young American, to whom a day was not of so much importance as the favor of a governor might be in a country where little attention was paid to written laws, waited for the new official, and thus had his company for several days. On the way, Chico asked him for an account of the affair at Los Angeles, of which Noriega, at Santa Barbara, had given him a very unfavorable opinion. Leese told the circumstances, and produced the copy of the record, which entirely satisfied the governor, who promised that he should not be troubled about it. A desire to learn the particulars of the execution at Los Angeles was probably one of Chico's motives for requesting Leese's company; and the conviction in his mind, that the people acted properly, may have had some influence in inducing him to give a letter that assisted Leese in obtaining the order for laying out the town of Yerba Buena. In answer to questions about his plans, Leese replied that he was going to San Francisco to establish a mercantile house, which was much needed there.

Chico said that he desired to encourage commerce, and he would give a letter to the local authorities, requesting them to grant a lot to him. At Monterey, Leese was detained as a party to the Los Angeles vigilance committee, by the order of Governor Gutierrez, but was discharged so soon as Chico was installed; and then he came on to San Francisco.

SEC. 31. *Yerba Buena.* At Yerba Buena, Leese found nobody save Richardson. At least one American trading vessel visited the harbor every year; four or five whalers put into Saucelito, and several vessels came in from Sitka to purchase wheat, maize, tallow and soap. The Russian trade then, or within a few years, amounted to about forty thousand dollars annually, and the purchases were paid for in drafts drawn by the Russian-American company, payable in St. Petersburg, which drafts were always taken at par by the American trading vessels.

One of the institutions of Yerba Buena was an Indian sweat-house, or *temascal*, which stood at the south-west corner of Sacramento and Montgomery streets till 1842. The water from a ravine that ran down the hillside about the line of Sacramento street formed near Montgomery a little fresh water lagoon, which Richardson's Indians considered a convenient place for bathing; so they built their sweat-house near it, and after taking a good steaming, would rush out and plunge into the lagoon.

At the presidio there was no garrison, and only one resident, a gray-haired soldier, named Joaquin Piña.

A mile and a half eastward from the presidio was the residence of widow Briones and family. At the Mission the chief Spanish residents were José Sanchez and his sons, Francisco and José de la Cruz, Candelario Valencia and Francisco De Haro (these two were sons-in-law of José Sanchez), Francisco Guerrero, Gumecindo Flores, José Galindo, Tiburcio Vasquez, José Antonio Alviso, José Cornelio Bernal, Vicente Miramontes, Padre Gutierrez, and José de Jesus Noe. All these, except the priest, were married, and many of them had large families. A few years later De Haro had two pairs of twins and six other children, the eldest being fifteen years old; Tiburcio Vasquez had ten children; and C. Miramontes had seven children, of whom the eldest was only nine years old. There were some other residents of less note, mostly bachelors. The people at the Mission lived upon their herds of cattle; their dwellings were all of adobe, and their furniture, food and clothing simple.

Mr. Leese examined the shore, from the Mission to the presidio, and satisfied himself that the cove of Yerba Buena was the best place for a settlement. The anchorage, holding-ground and landing-place were better than at either the Mission or the presidio. The cove extended up to Montgomery street, to which point high tide always reached. The landing-place was at Clark's point, now the corner of Broadway and Battery streets, the beach being shallow near the middle of the cove. The district now bounded by California, Pacific, Montgomery and Dupont streets, was an open, grassy slope, and over most of its area had nearly the same level as at present. South and west of this bare tract were hills, covered with bushes and scrub oaks, like those which flourish at Lone Mountain. No wagon or cart had ever visited Yerba Buena cove, and the only roads from it were narrow horse trails, where the rider had to take constant care to save his person and his clothes from injury by the bushes and trees.

SEC. 32. *First House.* Upon the arrival of Mr. Leese, in June, 1836, he applied to the alcalde Estudillo, who had his office at the Mission, though his residence was on the bank of San Leandro creek, for a grant of a lot at Yerba Buena. The alcalde replied that he had no authority to grant a lot there, but he would give him a lot at either the Mission or the presidio. Leese showed his letter from Chico, but Estudillo said there was no express authority for him to make a grant. The new settler thereupon went back to Monterey, obtained from the Governor a peremptory order for a grant, and returned with a little vessel; carrying enough lumber for a small house. He landed at the cove about the first of July, immediately proceeded to the Mission, showed his order, obtained permission to occupy a place south of Richardson's tent; and with the help of the sailors and sea captains in the harbor, succeeded in getting up his new house in time to celebrate the fourth of July, with a hundred guests or more, including the principal rancheros on the northern or eastern shores of the bay, whose trade and favor he was anxious to secure. The American flag was on this occasion hoisted for the first time on the site of San Francisco. The rancheros were glad to see a commercial house established, for previously they had depended for making their purchases upon foreign vessels, of which the harbor might be destitute for two or three months at a time.

The house built in July, 1836, by Mr. Leese, was after the survey of the town, on the south side of Clay street, a few feet west of Dupont. The next year, Mr. Leese obtained from Señor Martinez, who was then alcalde, the right to occupy a hundred vara lot on the west side of Montgomery, between Clay and Sacramento streets, as they were afterwards laid out, with the understanding that the lines must be subject to the subsequent survey. On this lot, near the corner of Commercial and Montgomery streets, the first substantial frame building of the village was erected. It was known in later times as the house of the Hudson Bay company, to which association Mr. Leese sold it. Richardson built his adobe house No. 811 Dupont street; and in the same year Señora Briones built an adobe house on the north-east corner of Powell and Filbert streets, the kitchen of which remained there about thirty years. In April, 1838, the first child of Yerba Buena, a daughter of Mr. Leese, was born.

The alcaldes elected under Mexican rule after Estudillo were Ignacio Martinez, Francisco de Haro, Francisco Guerrero, José Noe, Francisco Sanchez, Wm. Hinckley, J. N. Padilla and José Sanchez (these two in the same year), and José Noe, whose authority after six months of service was terminated by the American conquest. The alcaldes granted a lot fifty or one hundred varas square to every applicant ready to build a house; the first grant mentioned in the books being that to Richardson, dated in June, 1836. The record shows that the land was given to him partly because of satisfaction with his services as "bricklayer, surgeon and carpenter."

Between July 1, 1835, and July 7, 1846, that is the period of the Mexican town, the number of lots granted by the alcaldes of San Francisco was eighty-four. The grantees of thirty-four lots were of Spanish blood, as we infer from their names; the others were mostly Americans and English. One lot described in the alcalde's book as being in San Francisco, is at Dolores, the remainder at Yerba Buena. Sixty-four of the lots were each fifty varas square, the others fifty by one hundred varas, or one hundred varas square, each vara being thirty-three inches.

SEC. 33. *First Survey.* The first survey was made in 1839, by Jean Vioget, the lots previously granted having been given at random, though they were afterwards swung round to conform to the new lines. Vioget's map was a ragged, irregular delineation of about half the district, within the limits bounded by Montgomery, California, Powell and Broadway streets. It gave no name to any street, and the two main streets on it were Kearny, shown as extending from

Sacramento to Pacific, and Dupont from Clay to Pacific. Clay had two full blocks on each side from Dupont to Montgomery; Sacramento, Washington and Jackson, were not so long. The survey did not trespass upon the lagoon, that covered several acres, with its center near the intersection of Jackson and Montgomery streets. All the streets mentioned had nearly the same positions as at present, but one street ran north-westward from the crossing of Clay and Dupont, and on the west side of this street, Leese and Richardson each had a lot one hundred varas square, the first two which were occupied in the town. The other streets crossed each other in directions two and a half degrees from a right angle. Of the eleven blocks, most of them fractional shown on Vioget's map, only three now have the original size and shape; not one exactly the position given by him.

In the previous year a wagon road had been opened from Yerba Buena to the Mission by cutting out the bushes and scrub oaks for a width of eight feet along the line; but as the only vehicles to use it were the Mexican *carretas* with solid wheels, the main benefit of the road was that horsemen could pass without the danger of being scratched or having their clothes torn by the chaparral. In 1840 there were four Americans, as many Englishmen, and six other Europeans, in Yerba Buena; and these owned and occupied most of the houses. The next year Spear and Hinckley, Americans, built a saw mill to run by horse-power, and brought redwood logs for it from Corte Madera, in

Marin County. The boards thus produced were used for furniture and houses.

SEC. 34. *Hudson Bay.* About 1840, the Hudson Bay company had a dispute with the Russian-American company about the exclusive right to hunt sea-otter and trade with the Indians, in Queen Charlotte Sound; and as competition in dealing with the warlike savages of the northern coast might have been ruinous to both parties, they made an agreement that the Hudson Bay company should have the exclusive trade of the Sound, and should deliver in Sitka, at certain fixed prices, all the wheat, tallow, soap and maize needed for that place. This last stipulation was made by the Russians, with the intention of abandoning their establishment at Fort Ross, to avoid trouble with Mexico. Their occupation of that place had been recognized by Spain; but the Russian emperor had made no treaty with the Mexican government, which considered the autocrat as an enemy, and feared that he intended to lay permanent claim to a portion of the coast. After the establishment of the Missions and settlements north of the bay, for the avowed purpose of heading off the Russians, General Vallejo was sent to break up the settlement at Fort Ross, but he soon came to the conclusion that discretion was the better part of valor; and from that time the hostility of the Mexican government was exhibited only on paper. The rancheros were friendly with the people at Fort Ross, and went there frequently to trade. At last, however, the sea-otter began to become scarce the establishment at Fort Ross ceased to be profitable; the Russians had never intended to lay claim to the coast there, and they offered their establishment for sale. Mr. Leese proposed to give them twenty thousand dollars, five thousand dollars cash and five thousand dollars annually for three years. General Sutter bid thirty thousand dollars, to be paid on time, and he obtained the bargain. The Russians abandoned the country, and were replaced by the Hudson Bay company, which, having undertaken to supply Sitka with such produce as could be obtained only from California, found it necessary to establish a permanent agency, and selected Yerba Buena as the place. Dr. McLaughlin, then the head of the company on the Pacific coast, and a resident of Oregon, sent his son-in-law, Mr. Ray, to take charge of the new agency; and Ray saw that there was an excellent opportunity to monopolize the trade of the bay. The great capital of the company gave them an advantage over individual competitors, and the profits of trade would justify the attempt. Mr. Leese, unable to compete with them, sold out his store and business to them, and moved to Sonoma. The American merchants had paid for their hides and tallow on delivery, in merchandise, upon which great profits were made. Ray offered to pay half cash and half merchandise, and to pay the merchandise share in advance.

These terms were so much better for the rancheros than those of the Americans, that the latter could get but little trade, and the Hudson Bay company rapidly grew in importance; but in 1844, Sir George Simpson, the governor of the company, visited the coast, condemned Ray's payment in advance, and refused to approve the purchase of the house. About the same time Ray made the mistake of lending the ammunition of the company, placed in his charge for purposes of trade, to Castro and Alvarado to aid them in a revolt against Governor Micheltorena, expecting to gain political influence, as well as to make a pecuniary profit by the transaction. In this he was disappointed, for Sutter gathered a party of Americans and Indians and took sides against the rebels. Ray had another trouble. In consequence of his attentions to a native Californian lady, he had a quarrel with his wife, from whose father he had received his position. He sought relief from these vexations in intoxication, and closed one of his debauches by blowing out his brains. This was the end of the brief predominant influence of the Hudson Bay company in Yerba Buena, though it continued to maintain an agency here till after the American conquest. In 1844, the houses of Yerba Buena were the Hudson Bay house; the store of Spear & Hinckley; the store of Wm. A. Leidesdorff; the groceries of David Cooper, J. J. Vioget, Peter Sherreback, and Victor Prudon; the restaurant of John Fuller; the grog shops of Gregorio Escalante (Manila man) and Jacinto Moreno (a Lascar); the blacksmith-shop of Tinker & Thompson; the carpenter-shops of Andrews, Davis, and Reynolds & Rose; and the dwelling of Señora

Briones. The town remained nearly stationary during 1844, 1845, and the early part of 1846. It was expected, however, by the Americans and other foreigners in the country that California would soon become a part of the United States, and all looked to Yerba Buena as the probable metropolis.

SEC. 35. *Predictions.* More than fifty years ago, ambitious Americans looked forward to the time when San Francisco bay and its vicinity would belong to the United States. The revolt of Texas was foreseen, and California was too valuable to be left in the possession of a small population, content to remain stationary in the pastoral condition, while surrounding nations were advancing with all the power and speed of steam. It was evident that Mexico, involved in chronic civil wars, could not continue to hold a country so remote, so rich in resources, with a population that had already outgrown many of its Mexican sympathies, and was besides not numerous enough to offer much opposition to conquest. The Americans considered themselves best entitled to the prize, because their territory of Oregon adjoined it, their whalers and other ships in the Pacific were the most frequent visitors to it, and with their adventurous and migrating disposition they could soonest supply it with the people needed to develop its natural wealth. A few years later they were the largest class of foreigners in the country, and having married into the most influential native Californian families, their presence supplied an additional basis for their claim, which was then recognized to be the best; and all the travelers visiting the coast spoke of the probability that the stars and stripes would permanently wave over the future towns to be built about the shores of San Francisco bay.

No experienced navigator or hydrographic engineer has ever written of our bay, after examining it, without giving it liberal praise. Lieutenant Ayala, the first man to pass through the Golden Gate in command of a vessel, at least the first of whose entrance there is no doubt, after making a survey of it in 1775, declared it "a collection of harbors in which all the navies of Spain could hide from one another." Vancouver visited it in 1792, and said it was "as fine a port as the world affords;" and thought its possession ought to be "a principal object of the Spanish crown." The Russian navigator Kotzebue visited the bay in in 1824, and the narrative of his voyage says:

> It has hitherto been the fate of this region, like that of modest merit or humble virtue to remain unnoticed, but posterity will do it justice. Towns and cities will hereafter flourish where all is now desert. The water over which scarcely a solitary boat is seen to glide, will reflect the flags of all nations, and a happy, prosperous people, receiving with thankfulness what prodigal nature bestows for their use, will disperse its treasures over every part of the world.

The rush of whalemen to the North Pacific about 1820, made the Americans familiar with this coast; and in the course of years, many of their ships came to this harbor to get fresh water and provisions. The sailors in their conversation after reaching home, and in their letters while here, spoke in glowing terms of the grand bay, which was undoubtedly well adapted, by its position and circumstances, to maintain upon its shore the chief American seaport on the Pacific.

SEC. 36. *Morrell.* The first book speaking of California, by an American, was written by Benjamin Morrell, who, in command of the schooner "Tartar," visited our harbor in 1825, and seven years later published a book, in which he said:

> The bay of San Francisco, connected with the surrounding scenery, is the most delightful I have ever seen on the western coast of America. It presents a broad sheet of water, of sufficient extent to float all the British navy without crowding; the circling grassy shore, indented with convenient coves, and the whole surrounded with a verdant, blooming country, pleasingly diversified with cultured fields and waving forests; meadows clothed with the richest verdure in the gift of bounteous May; pastures covered with grazing herds; hill and dale, mountain and valley, noble rivers and gurgling brooks. Man, enlightened, civilized man, alone is wanting to complete the picture, and give a soul, a divinity, to the whole. Were these beautiful regions, which have been so much libeled, and are so little known, the property of the United States, our government would never permit them to remain thus neglected. The eastern and middle states would pour out their thousands of emigrants, until magnificent cities would rise on the shores of every inlet along the coast of New California, while the wilderness of the interior would be made to blossom like the rose.

SEC. 37. *Beechey.* Captain Beechey, in the course of his exploring expedition with the British government ship "Blossom," came into our bay in November, 1826, and his book, published before Morrell's, calls this a "magnificent port," and said it "possesses almost all the requisites for a great naval establishment, and is so advantageously situated with regard to North America and China, and the Pacific in general, that it will, no doubt, at some future time be of great importance."

This opinion, expressed by a distinguished hydrographic authority, after a careful examination of the entrance and anchorage, corroborating the unanimous declarations of the American shipmasters—Beechey found seven whalers anchored at Saucelito at one time—contributed to fix the determination of the American government to acquire the bay and its vicinity. In 1835, when the annexation of Texas was confidently anticipated, the cabinet made an offer for California to Mexico, but it was rejected; and soon afterwards the expedition under Captain Wilkes was sent out to make extensive explorations in the Pacific; but his instructions directed him to visit California, "with special reference to the bay of San Francisco," and the surveys ordered to be made in other parts of the Pacific were presumably regarded by the American government as of secondary and incidental value.

Alexander Forbes, in his "History of California," written in 1835, and published in 1839, says, "The port of San Francisco is hardly surpassed by any in the world;" and as to the general resources of the adjacent regions, he expressed the opinion that, "perhaps no country whatever can excel, or hardly vie with, California in natural advantages."

SEC. 38. *Wilkes, Etc.* Wilkes visited San Francisco in 1841; returned to New York the next year, and doubtless gave the chief points of his observations to the cabinet in conversation. The official report of his voyage appeared in 1845, and in it he says this is "one of the finest, if not the very best harbor in the world;" and he remarked, "the situation of California will cause its separation from Mexico before many years." Richard H. Dana's opinion, that "if California ever becomes a prosperous country, this bay will be the center of its prosperity," an opinion formed after visiting the bay as a sailor, in an American vessel, that was here for hides, in the winter of 1835, and recorded in a book which appeared in 1840, found twenty times as many readers as did Wilkes's ponderous volumes.

The annexation of Texas was looked forward to, from 1837, as a certainty, and a consequent war with Mexico as a probability; and there was a fixed determination in Washington, that one of the first things to be done, in case of war, was to seize California. We have no copy of the instructions issued to the American war-ships, of which there was, at least, one constantly in the North Pacific; but we can infer some of their character from the conduct of Commodore Jones, who, having heard a rumor of war, arrived at Monterey with the frigate "United States" and the corvette "Cyane," on the nineteenth of October, 1842, and seized the place as the capital of the country for his government. He learned after a few hours that the rumor was false, so the next day he hauled down his flag and apologized; but he had already exposed the purpose of the American cabinet, and if anything could have been done by Mexico to avert the final seizure, it would doubtless then have been done; but it was too late; Mexico was too weak, and the United States too strong. When Mofras was at Los Angeles in 1842, he heard a native woman sing a Spanish song, which said that when the Americans should come California would be lost, but when the Frenchmen came the women would surrender. It was the common talk among the frontiersmen in the upper Mississippi valley, that California was to be settled by Americans, then made independent, and finally annexed; and it was confidence in such talk that stimulated the migrations of 1843, 1844, 1845 and 1846, across the continent from Missouri.

Robert Greenhow, librarian of the Congressional Library in 1840, published a book on the north-west coast of America, afterward enlarged into a history of Oregon, and in the first edition of his work spoke of San Francisco bay as "one of the finest harbors in the world, and possessing every requisite for a great naval establishment," and "destined to be the center of an extensive commerce." In the beginning of 1842, Sir George Simpson, the head of the Hudson Bay company, visited Yerba Buena, and five years later published a book, in which he says the bay "is one of the finest harbors in the world," "a miniature Mediterranean," and "an inland sea."

On the twenty-fourth of June, 1845, George Bancroft, then secretary of the navy, wrote to Commodore Sloat, commanding the American squadron in the North Pacific: "If you should ascertain, with certainty, that Mexico has declared war against the United States, you will at once possess yourself of the port of San Francisco, and blockade or occupy such other ports as your force may permit." The great bay was considered the most important point.

Commodore Sloat, in his proclamation issued at Monterey, on the seventh of July, 1846, predicted "a great increase in the value of real estate;" and said "the country cannot but improve more rapidly than any other on the continent of America," under the permanent dominion of the United States, then officially announced by him.

On the sixteenth of March, 1848, Edwin Bryant, alcalde of San Francisco, published a notice that the water lots in Yerba Buena cove, including thirty-five blocks now occupied for business purposes between Broadway and Folsom streets, would be sold at auction to the highest bidder, on the twenty-ninth of June, and took the opportunity to say that the "town is destined to become the commercial emporium of the western side of the American continent."

The merchants of San Francisco, in March, 1848, paid Sam. Brannan, publisher of the "California Star," to print a number of his paper for circulation on the Atlantic slope, and Dr. Fourgeaud, who died several years since, furnished an article six columns long on "The prospects of California," in which he explained its resources and foretold its prosperity; and of San Francisco he said: "Our flourishing little town is destined ere long to become the manufacturing metropolis and commercial emporium of western America." Within a month after that paper was published, the little town was crazy with the gold excitement, and soon it got such a fair swing that no more predictions were needed.

SEC. 39. *American Longing.* The administration of Polk, installed on the fourth of March, 1845, looked forward to the acquisition of California as its chief ambition. Although the purposes of the cabinet were kept secret, the idea of extending the American dominion on the Pacific was familiar to many minds. The Yankee traders on the coast, and the trappers and the farmers in the Sacramento basin, wrote letters glowing with praise of the climate and soil of their new home by the sunset sea—letters that frequently found their way into the newspapers. Britons and Frenchmen also longed to seize the treasure which they were convinced must soon become the prize of the boldest. Duflot de Mofras, in his book on Oregon and California, hinted that France ought to take California in advance of England or the United States. Forbes, in his history of California, suggested that Great Britain should take it. The Californians themselves were continually discussing the matter, the preference being generally, among those who favored a change, for the United States, which had a contiguous territory, the prestige of progress, the advantage of extensive commercial relations, and a number of citizens already established in the country. Most of the trade was in the hands of American merchants, and the most formidable military force in California consisted of American riflemen, who had on several occasions taken an important part in the local political convulsions.

The people were dissatisfied with the Mexican government. It was remote and weak; it did nothing for the advancement of the country, and sent governors who were unknown to the inhabitants, insolent in their manners, and incompetent to properly perform their duties. The Californians had, by long intercourse with foreigners, grown to be distinct in character and tastes from the Mexicans. On one occasion they had declared themselves independent of Mexico; and they had expelled several Mexican governors. Many of the leading families, such as the Carrillos, Vallejos, Bandinis and Ortegas were connected by marriage with Americans.

SEC. 40. *Larkin.* These facts were well known to the Washington cabinet, which had been actively scheming for several years to prepare the way for a seizure of California. The American consul at Monterey, Thomas O. Larkin, had been instructed to get all possible influence with the leading native Californians. In May, 1846, a circular had been issued under the stimulus of his suggestions, calling a meeting of thirty prominent men, including the chief officials, for the purpose of considering the condition of affairs, with special reference to continued adherence to Mexico. Larkin advised the adoption of a memorial to the central administration, praying for a better government in California, and if that could not be provided, for a sale of the territory to some other power. It was Larkin's expectation that the discussion of this matter, and the ill feeling that would probably follow would prepare the people for a change; and he was confident that whether money or force should control the transfer, in either case the Americans would carry off the prize.

SEC. 41. *Fremont's Blunder*. Everything was going along smoothly with Larkin's plans, when they were disturbed by the folly and insolence of Fremont, who had arrived early in the year with an armed exploring expedition, and instead of taking counsel with Larkin, and courting and conciliating the local authorities, insulted and defied them. When he reached the vicinity of Monterey, several of the native Californians claimed that some of the horses in the possession of his party had been stolen from them, and he refused to surrender them. Dolores Pacheco, alcalde at San José, sent a letter to Fremont, stating that a complaint had been made before him to recover a stolen horse, and to demand satisfaction for insults given when the owner demanded his property in the American camp. Fremont replied that the horse claimed by the native Californian had been brought from the United States, and that the claimant might consider himself fortunate in escaping without a se-

3498

vere whipping, instead of being merely ordered to leave the camp. He admitted that four horses had been bought of Indians in Tulare valley, and offered, if it could be shown that any of these had been stolen, to surrender them, but no further communication about the horse first claimed would receive his attention, and he added: "My duties will not permit me to appear before the magistrate of your towns on the complaint of every straggling vagabond."

Dolores Pacheco sent Fremont's letters to the prefect of the district, Manuel Castro, who wrote to Fremont, ordering him to leave the country immediately. He refused to go. He wanted some supplies, and he intended to stay till he could obtain them, whether the officials liked his stay or not. This last defiance provoked the authorities so that a military force marched out to attack him; but the native Californians were not accustomed to the use of the rifle, and after taking a look at the bristling little camp, they withdrew, leaving Fremont to move off as he did, going up the Sacramento valley towards Oregon.

The more the natives heard of his conduct, the angrier they got, and they extended their denunciations to all Americans. The indignation was so strong that Governor Pico was satisfied that the proposed convention would do no good, so he withdrew his call for it, and it never met.

The feeling, however, that had been awakened by the call could not be suppressed. The attempts to keep the movement a secret within a small circle failed, and the rumors which got out, alarmed one party while they excited the other. Larkin wrote thus to the American secretary of state on the fifteenth of June:

> He (Larkin, the writer) has felt certain that from the almost certain train of events now in the course of production in California, he would be called from his own private business to attend to other affairs. By withdrawing from his pursuits, he has been preparing himself and the department of state, by his numerous and voluminous correspondence in 1844 and 1845, to meet the ensuing events soon to be consummated. From a favorable disposition on his part to aid what he saw was inevitable, there has been no reluctance to expense and personal inconvenience, which as begun would have been continued. It therefore affords a sincere pleasure in being able by the new proposal to have more power and room to carry out that already begun. This will call for no remarks from natives or foreigners residing here, as the parties and entertaining of company, and several extra consular expenses, have been attributed to the fancy, or advancement of position in life, of the undersigned. The undersigned improves the opportunity of observing that there cannot be brought forward, by the president against Mexico, any claim or demand so strong and impetuous as the unjust and cruel arrest, imprisonment and shipment in irons of so many Americans from this port in April, 1840. Californians, in California, committed this most outrageous act, and they and their territory should be held responsible for the deed.

SEC. 42. *Bear Flag.* The folly of Fremont was followed by the blunder of the Bear Flag party. The unmeaning threats of a few ignorant native Californians irritated and perhaps alarmed the Americans north of San Francisco bay, so much that without taking advice of the naval officers, of the American consul, or of the influential and wealthy Americans, living south of San Francisco, they revolted; seized the town of Sonoma on the fourteenth of June; imprisoned General M. G. Vallejo, Captain S. Vallejo, Colonel Prudon, and Mr. Leese (the last an American, but brother-in-law of the Vallejos); declared California independent; and hoisted a flag showing a bear on white ground with the words "California Republic." Wm. B. Ide, who succeeded Captain S. Merritt as commander of the bear flag party, issued a proclamation in which he gave the reasons of the movement, and declared that the Americans in the territory had been "threatened by proclamation from the chief officer of the aforesaid military despotism [the government of California], with extermination if they would not depart out of the country, leaving all their property, arms, and beasts of burden." This was a great mistake on the part of Ide and his friends. The governor of California had issued no such proclamation, nor was such a matter thought of. Although the Bear Flag party acted with far more moderation than rebels usually do, its conduct gave great offense to the native Californians, and added to the difficulty of the subsequent conquest of the country.

SEC. 43. *American Flag.* On the seventh of June, 1846, Commodore Sloat, while lying at Mazatlan with the frigate "Savannah," received news of the battles on the Rio Grande. Without waiting for a formal declaration of war, he set sail the next day for Monterey, where he arrived on the second of July. He counseled with Consul Larkin upon a proclamation, the form of which was soon agreed upon, and on the seventh of July he sent Captain Mervine ashore, with instructions to take possession of the custom house and Presidio, hoist the stars and stripes, and read the proclamation. His instructions were obeyed without resistance or objection from the native authorities or population. Governor Pico and General Castro were both absent, and no soldiers showed themselves. The proclamation announced that "henceforth California will be a portion of the United States," and promised protection to the person and property of peaceable citizens.

On the sixth, Sloat had sent a messenger to Captain Montgomery, of the war sloop "Portsmouth," then lying at Yerba Buena, giving him the news and instructing him to hoist the flag. On the eighth Montgomery received the message, and hoisted the flag on the plaza, or public square, which has since been called Portsmouth Square; and, what was then the principal street, was named after him who first asserted the American authority in Yerba Buena. On the eleventh Montgomery wrote back that the stars and stripes waved at San Francisco, Sonoma, Bodega and New Helvetia. Los Angeles and San Diego were taken soon afterwards; and although there were subsequent troubles, the American conquest dates from the seventh of July, 1846.

The war lasted nearly two years, but there was little fighting in California, and that little did not come near Yerba Buena. Such as there was in the southern districts was chargeable mainly to the indiscretion of Fremont and the haste of the Bear Flag party. On the fourteenth of January, 1847, Larkin wrote thus to the secretary of state:

> It has been my object for some years to bring the Californians to look on our countrymen as their best friends. I am satisfied very many were of that way of thinking, and more were becoming so. General Castro, from the year 1842 to 1846, made every demonstration in our favor, and opened plans for future operations, granting passports to all the Americans whom I presented to him. At the same time he made some foolish proclamations, supposing they would only be believed in Mexico. The sudden rising of the party on the Sacramento under the Bear Flag, taking Californians' property to a large amount, and other acts, completely frustrated all hopes I had of the friendship of the natives to my countrymen, and of General Castro, through fear of his people, to come into the arrangements I expected. On the arrival of the war squadron, from June to October, this came to my knowledge more and more fully. During the time I accompanied Commodore Stockton, I led him to believe that having taken the country the people would quietly submit; yet he should leave some forces amongst them. Among other objections of his were the expense and want of men. He has again hoisted our flag in this place. Colonel Fremont has done the same in Santa Barbara. * * * From this day it will require fifteen hundred troops to keep California, at least, or a different line of conduct to conciliate, which I think the Commodore will pursue. My present object is, that the State Department should know that the Californians were friendly, as I believe they were, but proper methods were not taken to conciliate them. Had the officers left in command at different towns in the country had the kind and friendly, yet firm manner of Commodore Stockton, I am firm in the opinion that the people would not have risen. During my imprisonment many Californian officers told me this, and said that the strict mili-

tary discipline pursued, and ignorance of their customs, forced them to take up arms.

SEC. 44. *Effect of Conquest.* The conquest made a great change in Yerba Buena, which had been inferior in population to the village of Dolores, three miles distant, but now suddenly became the chief town north of Monterey, with the expectation that it would soon surpass the capital in importance. There was the utmost confidence that the United States would continue to hold the bay, with the shores and country eastward and northward. Yerba Buena had become predominantly American in its population; it was the only American town; it was the chief seaport of the large region in which the Americans were most numerous, and in which the large extent of unoccupied fertile land would certainly at no distant time attract many American settlers. These considerations concurred, with its superior advantages as a harbor, to make it a preferred resort of the vessels that came to the coast on business connected with the war. It was evident that the American government could not hold the country until the establishment of peace without maintaining a considerable military force on its land and a considerable naval force in its waters; nor after making of peace without a considerable American population. These forces and this population would, it was believed, bring most of their trade to Yerba Buena, which thus became a place of great expectations.

One of the first acts of American authority was the appointment by Captain Montgomery of Washington

A. Bartlett, one of the lieutenants on the "Portsmouth," to the office of alcalde of Yerba Buena, to supersede Noe, the Mexican alcalde residing at Dolores. The Mexican dominion and the supremacy of Dolores disappeared together. Under military authority exercised by a naval officer, the chief magistrate of the town took a Spanish title and undertook to administer Mexican law as modified by American ideas and personal whims. There were neither statutes nor precedents to guide the court in its judgments, which were, however, probably as nearly just as those precise and pretentious tribunals occupying the same relative position in later times.

SEC. 45. *Mormons.* Three weeks after the hoisting of the American flag, the "Portsmouth" and the town were agitated by the report that a strange vessel, with decks black with people, and evidently not an American war-ship, had sailed into the Golden Gate and was pursuing her course towards Yerba Buena cove. Captain Montgomery immediately got ready for fight, but as the strange ship came round Clark's point, he saw that his preparation was unnecessary. The number of women and children on deck proved that there was no hostile intention, and there was nothing to indicate a warlike character. But who were these people who seemed to have dropped from the sky? They carried the American flag, but no such load of people had ever been seen on the coast before. There was no report that an immigrant vessel was coming, and the government would surely not send out women and children to a country engaged in war.

The general curiosity was soon gratified. The ship was the "Brooklyn." It had left New York under a pretense of being bound for Oregon, on the sixth of February, with two hundred and thirty-eight emigrants, all, save perhaps a dozen, Mormons, who, under advice or instructions from the leaders of their church, had selected San Francisco bay as their destination, with the expectation that they would find on its shores a place where they could build up a large and prosperous colony, and where no government or mob would be strong enough for many years to disturb them on account of their religion. They were dismayed by the news that the American flag floated over California, and by the fear that the men among them would be called upon to enlist to support a dominion to escape from which they had undertaken a long voyage, with the intention of settling in the wilderness. However, they made no public declaration of their feeling, and it was too late to change their destination.

They were mostly natives of New York and New England, and the men were all mechanics and farmers and well provided with the skill and the tools necessary for opening farms, building houses, and doing all the work of starting and maintaining a settlement in a wild country. Their leader was Samuel Brannan, who had been the publisher of the "Prophet," a Mormon paper in New York, and he brought his press, type and compositors with him. As head of the company, he was the custodian of its property. The disturbed condition of the country, the demand of the officials that the men should enter the military service, and the expectations, afterwards justified by the result, that the chief council of the Mormon church would abandon the project of establishing a large colony in California, induced those of the men who did not enlist and all the women and children to settle, temporarily at least, in Yerba Buena, which then became predominantly a Mormon town, for a brief period. The men who remained in town were no idlers, and the place soon showed signs of their activity in new houses and shops. Brannan had his press at work in September, finding occupation for some months in striking off official notices, proclamations, blank deeds and alcalde grants. About the end of October, the first news sheet appeared; it was called "an extra in advance of the 'California Star,'" and contained a copy of General Taylor's official report of the battles in Texas on the eighth and ninth of May. On the ninth of January the "California Star" commenced its career as a weekly paper.

The Mormons made little effort to gain converts, said little about the popular dogmas of their sect, did not then recognize polygamy in their creed, and generally maintained harmonious and even cordial relations in business and society with their neighbors. The men were industrious, intelligent, and public-spirited; the women chaste, and the children wellbehaved. The "Brooklyn" immigrants and their descendants now make up a small, but respectable portion of the Californian population, and have generally abandoned their former creed.

SEC. 46. *Change of Name.* The year 1847 was an eventful one for Yerba Buena. In January a decree was published by the alcalde (there was no town council), changing the name to San Francisco, "to prevent confusion and mistakes in public documents, and that the town may have the advantage of the name given in the public maps." There were other motives not mentioned by Alcalde Bartlett. A rival town had been laid off on the northern shore of Carquinez strait, a place which had many advantages for commerce, by Thomas O. Larkin and Charles D. Semple, who in wealth, political influence, general intelligence, and business capacity were among the first Americans on the coast. They had purchased the land from M. G. Vallejo, and named the town Francesca, after his wife. The name was well devised, suggestive of the bay, new, and not too long; but it was unfortunate in one respect, it did not prevent the appropriation of "San Francisco" by another place. Bartlett and his advisers were aware that while everybody knew about San Francisco bay, few had heard of the village of Yerba Buena, or would remember it. The name had a foreign look, and would not be naturalized into English spelling or pronunciation, until after much effort. It would not do to let the prospective town at Carquinez make the impression in the Atlantic states by the mere similarity of its name, that it was the chief town on San Francisco bay. The remedy was very simple, change Yerba Buena to San Francisco. There were no popular prejudices to be overcome, no voters, or councilmen to be consulted. The power of the alcalde was monarchical, and his decree was final. It was issued without the previous approval of the editor of the "Star," and he refused for several weeks to recognize the new name; but the people appreciated the policy of the change, and the refractory journalist had to submit. One reason why the people were pleased was, that Larkin and Semple were worried. They protested, but protest was useless. The thing had been done, the right to the name was secured, and San Francisco was a genuine lively little town; while Francesca, existed only upon paper, and in the anticipations of its friends. The names were so much alike that whoever spoke of Francesca would be supposed to refer to San Francisco; and its projectors took Benicia, a second baptismal name of Señora Vallejo, as the title of their place. Not long after this Captain Folsom, of the United States quartermaster's department, having considered the advantages claimed for Benicia, selected San Francisco as the point where the military stores of the United States should be kept, and thus contributed materially to strengthen its position.

In February, meetings were held to send assistance to the Donner party, who were starving in the mountains. The sum of fifteen hundred dollars was collected, and the relief party from San Francisco arrived in time at the famine camp near Donner lake to render effective service, though thirty-six out of eighty in the original party had died. This was the first of many liberal subscriptions made by San Francisco to relieve distant suffering.

SEC. 47. *Stevenson's Regiment.* On the sixth of March the ship "Thomas H. Perkins" arrived with the first detachment of Stevenson's regiment of volunteers, who had been enlisted in the interior of the state of New York, under special instructions to accept only those men who would promise to make their homes in California after the war, and who, by their good character and skill in the industrial arts, would be valuable settlers in a new country. When the "Perkins" left New York, on the twentieth of September, no news had been received there of what had been done on this coast since the declaration of war; but there was no doubt that the navy had possession of San Francisco at least, and that place was made the destination of the voyage. Stevenson's men as a class became permanent, many of them worthy, and some of them prominent, citizens of California; thus justifying the wisdom of the cabinet in devising its plan of enlistment and selecting the agents who accepted the men.

The arrival of the "Brooklyn" and "Perkins" with their immigrants, the business brought to the town by them, and the general confidence felt in its future, excited a desire among the residents to secure lots for homes, business and speculation. The few who had studied law seriously doubted whether American officials could give valid titles to land without any express authority from congress; and indeed legally the country had not yet become part of the American dominion by treaty, without which Mexican authority could not be formally terminated. The sale or gift of town lots to accommodate settlers certainly did not come under the military powers arising from the war. Nevertheless, the citizens were willing and anxious to take all the chances. They urgently demanded some kind of a paper from the government officials showing that they had done all they could do to obtain a title, trusting that congress and the courts would not deprive them afterwards of the property in their possession and made valuable by their labor and enterprise. It was represented to General Kearny, then military governor, that the sale of lots was not only advisable to help in building up the town and attracting immigration, but also to provide funds with which the expenses of the town government should be paid. In accordance with the general solicitation, General Kearny, on the tenth of March, claiming to act by authority vested in him by the president of the United States, who had no such authority and never undertook to confer it on his subordinate, issued a decree granting to the town all the beach and water lots between Clark's point and Rincon point, except such as should be reserved for government uses by the senior navy officer stationed at San Francisco, under condition that these lots should be sold at auction for the benefit of the town.

SEC. 48. *O'Farrell's Survey.* Within a week after the date of this decree, Edwin Bryant, who had succeeded Bartlett as alcalde on the twenty-seventh February, issued a notice that the water lots would be surveyed immediately, and would be sold on the twenty-seventh of June. Jasper O'Farrell, an Irish civil engineer, was selected to make the survey, which so far as the water lots were concerned, consisted in marking them off upon paper. George Hyde, having succeeded to the position of alcalde, postponed the sale till the twentieth of July, when two hundred water lots, forty-five by one hundred and thirty-seven and a half feet in size, out of four hundred and fifty were sold at prices varying from fifty dollars to six hundred dollars each, most of them being near the former figure. The lots between Clay and Sacramento, reserved for the possible uses of the government, were sold six years and a half later, and brought twelve thousand dollars each on an average—more than one hundred times as much as in 1847.

But the water lots could not be occupied, and this sale gave little satisfaction to the purchasers or immediate benefit to the town. The people needed solid ground for homes and shops, and so O'Farrell was instructed to enlarge the bounds of the town. He did so, and made the first careful survey, covering an area of about eight hundred acres. His map included the district bounded by the lines of Post, Leavenworth and Francisco streets and the water front; and south of Market street, it showed four full blocks fronting on Fourth and eleven full blocks fronting on Second street. There were besides a few fractional blocks. O'Farrell disliked many things in Vioget's little survey, but some he could not change. Kearny and Dupont streets were too narrow, but these could not be widened without an expense of several thousand dollars, which nobody wanted to incur. It was considered indispensable, however, that the acute and obtuse angles of Vioget's lots should be corrected by making the streets cross each other at right angles. and to do this, a change of two and a half degrees was necessary in the direction of some of the streets. This transferred the situation of all the lots, and was subsequently called "O'Farrell's swing" of the city. All the lot-holders save one Bennett, who had a place between Kearny and Dupont on Pacific, accepted the change. He refused to be swung out of any of the lot originally granted to him; and his title to a strip covered by the swing having passed to a Mr. Barth, was sustained by a judgment of the twelfth district court in 1859. For years, on account of the swing, buildings were to be seen at various places projecting a little beyond the general line of the street, but nearly all, if not all, have now conformed to O'Farrell's lines. The corner of Kearny and Washington streets was the pivot of the swing, and the main monument or starting point was established there. The new map gave to the streets the names which they now have, and they were doubtless adopted with the approval of the alcalde. They provided that all the people of the future metropolis of the coast should be reminded every day of Montgomery, Stockton and Dupont, of the navy; of Kearny, Mason, Fremont and Taylor, of the army; of Sutter, Howard, Brannan, Bryant, Folsom, Harrison, Hyde, Leavenworth and Jones, of the early residents of the city. Vallejo and Larkin, prominent citizens of California, were also immortalized.

The first delineation of Market street was made by O'Farrell, who correctly appreciated the importance of making the main streets in the southern part of the town agree in general direction with the route followed by people going from Yerba Buena cove to the Mission. The extension of the streets running with the cardinal points to Mission creek would have been a source of much inconvenience for many years. The lots south of Market street were made four times as large as those to the northward, smaller lots there not being considered desirable property.

SEC. 49. *Sale of Lots.* In August, of the seven hundred fifty-vara lots, about four hundred had been sold at sixteen dollars each, including the expense of deed and recording; and of the one hundred and thirty hundred-vara lots, about seventy had been sold at twenty-nine dollars each, and the remainder were offered for sale at the same rate. There was an express condition in the conveyance of every upland lot that the purchaser must erect a house on the land and enclose it with a fence within a year, but this would have required the construction of nearly eighty miles of fencing, and of more houses than there were adults in the town, and neither men, money nor lumber for so much work could be had. The purchasers had got the deeds and possession, and were willing to take their chances that the lots would not be confiscated for non-fulfillment of the conditions. Not one was so confiscated.

SEC. 50. *Census of 1847.* Under instructions from the governor, Lieutenant Edward Gilbert, of Stevenson's regiment, took a census in August, 1847; and reported a total population, exclusive of officers and soldiers, at San Francisco, which then did not include the village of Dolores, of four hundred and fifty-nine persons, of whom more than half were natives of the United States, and about forty each of Spanish Californians, Indians and Kanakas. In the seventeen months ending on the first of August, 1847, one hundred and fifty-seven houses—one fourth adobe houses, and the remainder shanties—had been erected in a town which had only thirty houses before. The census-taker considered it within the scope of his office to argue the prospects of his town as compared with the rival places, and his conclusion was that the latter would be left behind in the race. The following extract from his remarks is worthy of repetition here, as indicative of the opinion prevalent in the town, and as predictions which have been abundantly verified:

> In conclusion I cannot suppress a desire to say, that San Francisco is destined to become the great commercial emporium

of the North Pacific coast. With the advantages of so fine a harbor, and the enterprise of so hardy and intelligent a race of pioneers, it can scarcely be otherwise. Notwithstanding these conclusions are so obvious, I have heard it asserted that Monterey is destined to outstrip it. That Monterey can never surpass San Francisco, I think the following view will clearly establish; 1. San Francisco has a safer and more commodious harbor than Monterey; 2. The waters of the bay afford an easy method of communication, and a facile means of transportation between the town and the hundred lateral valleys which surround the bay, and which are destined soon to become granaries and hives of plenty; 3. It also has a ready means of communication by water with large and rich valleys of the San Joaquin, the Sacramento and the American Fork, as all of these rivers are tributaries to the bay. So far as my information goes, Monterey, although it has a fine country at its back, has none of the facilities for reaching and transporting the products of that country which San Francisco possesses in regard to the country that surrounds it. This, it seems to me, allowing all other things to be equal, would give to San Francisco an insuperable advantage.

SEC. 51. *Leading Town.* Although Monterey was still the political capital of the territory, and had twice or thrice as many people as San Francisco, the latter was the point where the enterprise and surplus money of the American population collected. Its superiority as a place of business was so clear that the "Californian" which had been established at Monterey in the previous August as a weekly paper, was in May moved to San Francisco, which now had two papers, while no other town in the territory had one, although half dozen others had more inhabitants.

SEC. 52. *Shipping in 1847.* The inland commerce of San Francisco in 1847, was scanty. A twenty-ton sloop belonging to Sutter, and manned by half a dozen Indians, ran regularly to and from New Helvetia, taking about three weeks usually for a round trip, and having frequently little freight; but there were times when one vessel could not accommodate the demand, and then a smaller sloop, that usually plied to other points on the bay, would run up the Sacramento river. Another sloop was employed between San Francisco and the Mormon settlement on the Stanislaus. The ocean shipping was more important. In the year ending March 30, 1848, there were eighty-six arrivals by sea; including four naval vessels, sixteen whalers, and eight vessels from the Hawaiian Islands. The others were from various ports of California and Oregon. About a dozen of these were regularly employed in the coasting trade.

The first square-rigged vessel to enter San Pablo bay, was the brig "Francisco" of one hundred tons, which on the twenty-second of August, 1847, took a cargo of lumber to Benicia. The first steamer to paddle the water of San Francisco bay, the "Sitka," a steam launch brought from Sitka on the deck of a Russian vessel to be used in collecting hides and other freight at the various landings, was tried in October and found too weak to face the combined forces of wind and tide. She succeeded in getting to Sacramento, but an ox team, which left after she did on her return, arrived at Benicia in advance of her. When she reached her home port, her engine was taken out, and she was converted into a sloop.

SEC. 53. *Puff for California.* Business, after having been active for the year succeeding the commencement of the war, became dull towards the close of 1847. No more troops were landed or transhipped, the war vessels were sent away to doubtful points, no more immigrants arrived by sea, the expected immigration by land did not exceed a dozen persons, and those who came said that few would follow till the close of the war.

The residents having bought their lots, and incurred debts in the expectation of a steady and rapid growth of the town, were now oppressed by fears of several years of dullness. After much consultation they agreed that they must make an effort to attract immigrants, war or no war, by circulating information about California in Missouri, and adjacent states, and by providing facilities for sending letters across the continent at intervals of not more than a month during the spring, summer and fall.

In accordance with this plan, an extra number of the "California Star" was published in the latter part of March, 1848, with special reference to circulation in "the States," and it had an article six columns long by Dr. V. J. Fourgeaud, on "The Prospects of California," setting forth her attractions and resources in highly laudatory and in some respects exaggerated terms, but with much correct information, and many judicious remarks. This first publication, designed mainly to be sent overland, was received with general favor, and liberal orders were given by the people of town and country for copies. On the first of April, the day on which the paper was dated, a courier was dispatched with two thousand copies, and some letters —the latter paid fifty cents each—across the continent, with the promise that he should reach Independence, then the border of civilization in the Mississippi basin, within sixty days. It was arranged that another paper, with other information for immigrants should be printed on the first of June, and should be sent to Missouri in the same way, but it never appeared. Before the time for its publication arrived, gold mining, which had been mentioned incidentally in the extra edition of April 1, as a rumor that commanded no credit and had no importance, had taken such dimensions that nobody thought about any effort to attract emigrants. The diggings had provided an advertisement that overshadowed everything else.

SEC. 54. *Peace.* The war had ended practically on the fourteenth September, 1847, when the American army under General Scott occupied the Mexican capital. From that time both parties were anxious to make peace; but the Mexican chieftains for a long time could not come to an agreement among themselves. At last, on the second of February, 1848, a treaty was made, and though there were some defects in the authority of the negotiations on each side, yet the terms agreed upon were considered satisfactory, and both nations ratified them rather than expose themselves to the danger of delay. The ratifications were exchanged on the thirtieth of May at Queretaro, where the document had been signed. The news of the treaty reached San Francisco on the eighth of August, and on the eleventh the people celebrated the establishment of peace and the recognition of the American title to California. This recognition was of much influence in pacifying the native Californians. There was no fear that Mexico could in any event retake the country about San Francisco bay, but there might have been serious trouble on the southern coast, where murders, on account of antipathies of race were not rare as late as 1858. Besides the other reasons for rejoicing, there was the fulfillment of the promise, made by Commodore Sloat in his proclamation issued when he hoisted the American flag, that it would bring prosperity to the country. Only twenty-five months had elapsed, and already wonders had been accomplished.

In the eleven years following secularization, the white population had increased from five thousand to thirteen thousand, according to estimates, for no general census had been taken in the meantime, but the Indians had decreased or disappeared rapidly. The towns of San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, San Francisco and Sonoma had risen on the sites of the old Missions. A wagon road had been opened from Missouri, and rude trails from New Mexico and Oregon, and settlers had come in by sea as well as land. Americans, looking upon California as theirs by manifest destiny, were the most numerous and influential. They married into leading families of Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Monterey and Sonoma, obtained control of the valleys north of Carquinez strait, introduced saw-mills, grist-mills, light wagons, improved agricultural and mechanical tools, habits of reading and industry, an appreciation of the value of the country and a confidence that it would not be neglected much longer. The American authority had been established two years before the gold excitement attracted general attention, and in that brief period, though it was a time of hostility and confusion, California had made considerable progress, indicating that she would have prospered, even without the help of any mines.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GOLDEN ERA.

SECTION 55. *Gold.* James W. Marshal, an American employed by Sutter in building a saw-mill to be driven by water, at Coloma, forty-five miles northeastward from Sacramento, on the nineteenth of January, 1848, found gold in the race or ditch, and having heard of the gold mines in the Los Angeles region, and being a man of excitable character and active imagination, supposed he had made a great discovery. He immediately began to talk of it to the people round him, but they, like himself, did not know how to test gold or to separate it from clay and gravel, and they ridiculed him for attaching so much importance to his brass, as they called it. Nevertheless, whenever the water was stopped so that the ditch was empty, they looked for pieces of metal which had been exposed by the current, so that in a month, without neglecting their work at the mill, they had got several ounces together, most of it in very small pieces, the largest as heavy as a ten-dollar coin. As boiling in lye and touching with vinegar did not make the stuff turn green, the workmen began to think Marshal might be right; and in the latter part of February one of their number, a Mr. Bennett, partly for the purpose of ascertaining the value of Marshal's gold, went to San Francisco. Soon after landing he was introduced to Isaac Humphrey, who had been a gold miner in Georgia. On examining the specimens, of which Bennett had half an ounce, he immediately declared that it was gold, that the pieces were larger than those found in Georgia, and that the mines must be rich.

He tried to induce some of his friends to go with him, but they had no money to spend in such "foolishness," as they called it, and he and Bennett had to go alone. On the seventh of March he arrived at the mill; and the next day, with a pan, prospected enough to satisfy himself that the diggings would pay well. He then made a rocker, went into the business of washing gold, and was successful from the first. The other men observed how he worked and imitated his example. On the twenty-fifth of March the "Star" stated that gold dust had become an article of traffic at New Helvetia, and a few days later a party including E. C. Kemble, editor of that journal, left San Francisco to visit the diggings. At New Helvetia they were joined by Captain Sutter, who was vexed because his men, hired to run his mill, were neglecting their work of getting out lumber; the mill laborers, perhaps ashamed of the violation of their contract, pretended while the visitors were there to be engaged in lumbering, and Humphrey was probably away in some distant ravine. Whatever was the cause, Kemble could find neither gold nor mines, and immediately after his return he declared the mines "a sham." He had scarcely printed his opinion before half a pound of the dust was offered to the merchants in town, and after inquiring of a jeweler and a man who had seen gold dust at Los Angeles, they took it at eight dollars an ounce, charging a high price for their provisions. Everybody went to look at the stuff in the store, and before the end of April, so many had gone to Coloma, that the population was perceptibly reduced. Every schooner from New Helvetia brought more dust, some of which sold for four dollars per ounce in coin. More orders for provisions, and more favorable news caused more people to go to the mines. On the twenty-ninth of May, the "Californian" announced its own suspension, because of the general abandonment of the town, and added that the whole country was resounding with "the sordid cry of gold, *gold*, GOLD!" Two weeks later the "Star" also suspended, compositors, editors and devils, all going to the diggings. The San Franciscans were already greedy for news; and if there had not been a complete stoppage of ordinary business, the newspapers would have continued to appear. Three fourths of the men had left, and town lots were offered at one half, or one third of the price at which they had been held a month before, the owners being willing to sacrifice all their property to reach the mines with a good supply of tools and provisions.

SEC. 56. *Trade Stimulated.* But this condition of affairs did not last long; many of those who went to the placers saw that there was gold enough to attract a large migration, which must pay a great tribute to San Francisco. Those miners at the diggings, though comparatively few, already demanded many articles which must be obtained from Oregon, the Atlantic states and Hawaiian Islands. Gold was abundant, and there was no disposition to spare it. If certain comforts and luxuries of life could not be bought for the ordinary price, they must still be procured, for the miners would pay ten prices rather than do without them. It was under considerations of this kind that some of those who had left the little town at the bay, soon returned and prepared themselves to profit by its business and growth.

In June and July about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars of gold dust were received at San Francisco; in the next two months, six hundred thousand dollars; and the sums continued to increase. The exports of 1847 had been worth one hundred and sixty thousand dollars; and after September, 1848, the monthly receipts from the mines were at least twice as much. It was estimated that six thousand persons, including tame Indians in the service of white masters, were at work in the mines before the close of the year. In September, a Honolulu paper announced the arrival of a vessel there from San Francisco, with "a cargo of gold dust and lumber." The gold export of 1848, as shown by the custom-house statistics, amounted to two million dollars, and the duties on imports to one hundred and ninety-five thousand dollars.

In May, the people in the mines were nearly all from the valleys that send their waters to the ocean through the Golden Gate; in June, many adventurers from Monterey and Santa Cruz had arrived; in July, from Los Angeles; and in September and October, from the Hawaiian Islands and Oregon. The farms and gardens having been neglected, California could not supply the demand of the miners for provisions; and vessels, mostly schooners, were sent off to buy flour, salted meat, dried fruit, sugar, coffee, rice, fresh vegetables, distilled liquors, bedding, tent cloth and ready-made clothes, at any price. The miners had not only ceased to produce anything save gold, but their capacity for consumption had suddenly trebled. Men who had before lived upon five dollars a month now spent three hundred. Many who had been idlers, when they could make little by labor, were now among the most industrious; others, who had before never wasted a day, became loungers, because they could live with comparative comfort by gambling, or with an occasional day of work. The general results were a vast increase of wealth, an unexampled industrial production, a constant excitement that has contributed to form the intellectual character of the Californians, and a vast commercial activity which enriched San Francisco, the port through which most of the supplies for the mines came, and through which nearly all the immigrants by sea arrived. Much of the coin at San Francisco had been carried off to the mines, and gold dust had become current in its place at twelve dollars an ounce, though in New York it was worth about eighteen dollars. On the thirty-first of July Governor Mason issued an order that the duties at the custom-house might be paid in dust, and on the ninth of September a public meeting of business men agreed that gold dust should be accepted at sixteen dollars per ounce.

SEC. 57. *The Excitement in the East.* From the Hawaiian Islands the news of the gold discovery was carried to all the ports of the Pacific; and in October the adventurers from Oregon, Mexico, Chile, Peru, and the various Pacific islands began to come in throngs. Lieutenant E. F. Beale, of the navy, who left Monterey on the first of July with official despatches, crossed Mexico, and must have reached Washington in August; but the earliest serious mention of the gold discovery in the press of the Atlantic slope seems to have been that made in the Baltimore "Sun" of September 20. From that time forward nearly every week brought its additions to the reports from the diggings, though for months they were regarded with general incredulity and ridicule. They came through many different channels, all agreeing in the main fact that there was an immense demand for provisions, tools, and various other articles of merchandise, as well as for labor. Letters were received in every State from men in the mines advising their relatives and friends to sell out at much sacrifice and start without delay. At Portland, Mazatlan, San Blas, Guaymas, Panama, Callao, Valparaiso, and Honolulu, there was an excitement the like of which had never been seen, and soon there was a similar excitement throughout the United States. The main topic of conversation was

California. It filled the papers; it was the subject of the most popular songs; it suggested the plot and dialogue of some of the most successful theatrical pieces; it destroyed the popular interest in the religious revivals which were then worked up every winter in several Atlantic cities; it added immensely to the business and profits of fortune-tellers; it was a common text for sermons deprecating the evil influence of a thirst for gold by clergymen who saw many of their congregation preparing to depart; it was the absorbing topic of conversation in every family; and it was a remarkable experience for those who stayed as home as well for those who went. The country was in a condition of high prosperity, that prepared a considerable proportion of the people to take a part in the excitement. Money was abundant; the Mexican war, besides being a grand military success, had attracted a large number of immigrants; and had stimulated business and enterprise. Thousands of young men, after sharing the triumphant campaigns of Scott and Taylor, had not settled down yet to dull labor, and were looking round for some new field of inspiriting activity. To them the news from California was a special delight; and as every week brought additional confirmation of the wonderful reports, their enthusiasm rose and extended to the whole population, so that from Maine to Texas there was one universal frenzy. It occupied the thoughts of all; it disturbed business; it prevented marriages; it broke up families; it was the hope of those who could go, and the despair of those who could not.

The noise of preparation filled the country. Most of those taken with the gold fever in the Mississippi basin prepared to start on the journey by land so soon as the spring should open; those along the Atlantic coast went by Cape Horn. The most active and energetic young men of every state were among the adventurers. The New York "Tribune," near the close of January, said:

> A resident of New York, coming back after a three month's absence, would wonder at the word 'California,' seen everywhere in glaring letters, and at the columns of vessels advertised in the papers about to sail for San Francisco. He would be puzzled at seeing a new class of men in the streets, in a peculiar costume—broad felt hats of a reddish brown hue, loose, rough coats reaching to the knee, and high boots. Californians throng the streets; several of the hotels are almost filled with them; and though large numbers leave every day, there is no apparent diminution of their numbers. Even those who have watched the gradual progress of the excitement are astonished at its extent and intensity. The ordinary course of business seems for the time to be changed; bakers keep their ovens hot day and night, turning out immense quantities of ship bread, without supplying the demand; the provision stores of all kinds are besieged by orders; manufacturers of rubber goods, rifles, pistols, bowie knives, etc., can scarcely supply the demand.

In his "Seeking the Golden Fleece," Dr. Stillman says:

> At the close of the month of January, ninety vessels had sailed from the various ports, carrying nearly eight thousand men, and seventy more ships were up for passage. Never since the crusades was such a movement known; not a family but had one or more representatives gone or preparing to go. Every man was a walking arsenal, prepared for every emergency but that of not coming back loaded with gold. Companies for mining and trad-

ing were formed in every considerable town, and those who could not go subscribed to the stock and sent a representative. Editors, who in the columns of their papers had discouraged the movement and exhorted the young men to be satisfied with the slow gains of home industry and stand by their households, sold out, and by virtue of their character as representatives of the press, obtained extraordinary facilities for transportation, and anticipated the quickest of us at the gold mines by at least a month. Ministers of the gospel raised their voices against the dangers of riches, and, like Cassandra, prophesied unutterable woes upon the country, and started in the first ship as missionaries to San Francisco. Physicians, impatient at the slow action of alterants, sold their horses, and leaving their uncollected accounts with their families, procured a good supply of musket balls and Dupont's best rifle powder, and shoved off for the land of gold, to the tune of "Oh, Susanna."

The song here referred to "The California Emigrant," gave the California fever to thousands, who without its stimulus would have remained in their native towns. Written by Jonathan Nichols, who left Salem, Massachusetts, in the ship "Eliza," on the twenty-first of December, 1848, for the land of gold, it was sung everywhere and by everybody, and at concerts, and in the theatres, even when poorly rendered, was received with more fervor by the multitude than was shown to the well executed airs from the most brilliant operas. This song bears to California a relation similar to that borne to the United States by the music of Yankee Doodle.

SEC. 58. *1849.* The year of 1849 was marked by the arrival of, at least, three times as many immigrants as the entire previous population of the territory, and on account of the very large proportion of young, intelligent, active men, skilled in the industrial arts, the productive power was increased, at least, five fold; by the increase of San Francisco from a population of about two thousand to six or eight times as many; by the establishment of a line of mail steamers to New York, running each way every month, and by a line of river steamers between San Francisco and Sacramento, running each way every day; by the popular movement or mob to punish the ruffians known as "the hounds;" by the adoption of a state constitution; by the rapid spread of gold washing between Mariposa and Trinity river over extensive districts where no placers had been discovered or worked in the previous year; by the collection in San Francisco harbor of four hundred ships which had been deserted by their sailors; by the sale of a large number of city lots; by the construction of a good wharf; and by a serious conflagration.

SEC. 59. *First Great Fire.* The first of the great fires of San Francisco came on the twenty-fourth of December, and burned down all of the buildings on Kearny street, between Washington and Clay, and at that time those were the most valuable in the city, including the Parker House, a two-story frame, which served as a hotel and gambling-house. The entire loss was one million dollars.

The high expense of landing merchandise in lighters, when laborers charged from eight to sixteen dollars a day, at a place where the greater part of the water-front was a wide mud flat, except at high tide, and where the rocks of Clark's Point could not accommodate one tenth of the business, induced Alcalde Leavenworth in May to give the block bounded by Clay, Sacramento, Battery and Front streets, to encourage the building of a wharf projected on the line of Commercial street. Six months later the structure on the line of that street, known for years as Long Wharf, extended out eight hundred feet, reaching nearly to the line of Front street, and the water at its end was so deep that the largest ships could lie there at low tide. It became the landing-place for most of the steamers, and for much merchandise. Business houses crowded both sides of the street above the wharf, and for several years it was one of the chief centers of retail traffic.

SEC. 60. *Telegraph Hill.* The urgent demand for the earliest possible information about the entrance of vessels into the harbor, a result of the rapid increase of commerce, and the large profits of the merchants, led in September to the erection of a house on Telegraph Hill, for the purpose of making signals visible throughout the city. A couple of arms, which could be raised or lowered at pleasure on a high pole, indicated by their position whether any water-craft was coming in at the Golden Gate, and, if so, what its character; if a steamer, whether a side-wheeler or screw steamer; if a sailing vessel, whether ship, brig or schooner. All the business men and many of the women and children were familiar with the signs, and those not in sight of the station made inquiries at brief intervals what vessels had arrived. When the telegraph signalled a side-wheeler about the time when the Panama steamer was due, the city fluttered with excitement, and thousands of men rushed to see friends, to hear the news, and to look after letters. The moment after the steamer reached the dock, the streets were full of boys crying the New York papers, the sale of which was a source of large revenue to the newsmen. At a theater one evening, a stupid actor rushed upon the stage with his arms stretched out awkwardly, asking, "What means this, my lord;" the actor who was to respond hesitated, in ignorance of his part, but a newsboy in the third tier shouted out: "Side-wheel steamer." The answer was so appropriate, that the house instantaneously recognized and applauded it loud and long.

SEC. 61. *Edward Everett.* Among the notable pioneer vessels for California was the "Edward Everett," which sailed from Boston on the thirteenth of January, 1849, and arrived at San Francisco on the seventh of July with one hundred and fifty-two passengers, or rather owners, for they bought the ship, each paying for a share and contributing to the fund with which her supplies were furnished. The distinguished gentleman, after whom she was named, was then president of Harvard college, and having heard that many of the company were young men of good education and character, he sent a box with three hundred volumes of standard books for their entertainment and instruction during the long voyage before them. The passengers made good use of his liberal gift, and many of them proved, by their subsequent lives, that they were worthy of his bounty. The plan of forming clubs to purchase ships to carry the members to California was adopted in numerous instances.

SEC. 62. *First Steamer.* In the forenoon of the twenty-eighth of February, 1849, the news ran through the town that a merchant steamer had entered the Golden Gate, and as the first boat of the Pacific Mail company, from which great benefits were expected, was overdue, the people ran out in joyful excitement, some going to the top of Telegraph Hill, and others to Clark's Point, the landing place. The sun was bright, the sky clear, the atmosphere quiet, the temperature warm, the bay still, and the hills green, the beauty of the day contributing to the general happiness. At last San Francisco was bound to the Atlantic coast by steam. As the vessel, black with its wondering passengers, came round Clark's Point, a couple of American war-ships at anchor in the cove welcomed the new-comers with a display of flags, the playing of national airs by the bands, salutes from the guns, the manning of the yards, and cheer after cheer from the crews—cheers that were repeated upon the shore and answered from the steamer until the echoes came back from the hills. The occasion was one never to be forgotten by those present.

So soon as the steamer could come to anchor, for she could not reach the wharf, the boats went off and there was an anxious interchange of inquiries. The passengers, greedy to know whether the stories of the gold discoveries were true, were told that the mines were rich beyond example, yielding several millions every month, a report that could well be believed; for instead of seeing, as they expected, a harbor nearly empty and a dull village, they saw a bay crowded with ships, and a town that looked like the camp of an army. In return for the news from the mines, the town people were told that two othe steamers belonging to the Pacific Mail company had started to come round Cape Horn, and that the monthly service with New York by way of Panama had now commenced regularly. This provided facilities for travel and the transmission of news, with the help of which the mines would soon fill up with people. The San Franciscans feared nothing else so much as the difficulties of access to the Atlantic slope, and the lack of mail transportation. The arrival of this steamer was a great epoch in the early history of the city, and the general appreciation of its importance was shown by the gatherings of the people to congratulate one another and talk over the news, by the firing of pistols, and by an illumination in the evening.

Congress had passed an act on the third of March, 1847—before Mexico had ceded her claim to California, and even before General Scott had taken Vera Cruz—providing that a semi-monthly mail should be carried from New York to Panama, and authorizing a contract for a monthly mail each way between Panama and Oregon. It was not until after the war had been closed that the contract thus offered could find a responsible bidder, but the Pacific Mail steamship company, having been organized on the twelfth of April, 1848, finally took it, with the promise of two hundred thousand dollars annual subsidy, and the obligation of maintaining three steamers on the route between Panama and Astoria, by way of San Francisco. The three steamers, the "California," "Oregon" and "Panama," each measuring about one thousand tons, were all built without delay and started promptly, though the last had an accident soon after getting to sea, so that she was compelled to return and refit. All rendered long and good service on the Pacific coast. The "California" brought no passengers round the Horn, but when she touched at Panama she found there the passengers of the steamer "Falcon," which had left New York on the first of December. Most of them had engaged passage before much was said about the gold discoveries, and they attached little importance to the story until they arrived at Panama, where they found some of the dust and saw the excitement that had reached all the western coast of the continent. Among the passengers were General Persifer Smith, who was to have chief command of the American forces on the Pacific coast; Major Canby, Eugene Sullivan, Alexander Austin, E. T. Batturs, Alfred Robinson, Malachi Fallon, Pacificus Ord, R. M. Price, Wm. Van Voorhees, H. F. Williams, Dr. A. B. Stout, Rev. O. C. Wheeler, Rev. S. H. Willey, and others since prominent in the history or business of the state.

The "California" was immediately deserted by her crew, so she had to lie in the harbor for several weeks before entering upon her regular mail service. The "Oregon" arrived on the thirty-first of March, with John W. Geary, first postmaster at San Francisco. He brought the first mail sent by the post-office department to the Pacific coast, and he had authority to establish the post-offices and to make contracts for carrying the mails.

SEC. 63. *Immigration by Sea.* The average duration of the voyages made under sail from the American Atlantic ports was about five months, many of the ships sent out being old tubs which had been built with more regard for solidity than speed, and not a few of them so old that they would never have made another voyage but for the extraordinary demand of the gold excitement. In April two vessels arrived from the Atlantic, having started in November; in May only one came; in June, eleven; in July, forty; in August, forty-three; in September, sixty-six; in October, twenty-eight; in November, twenty-three; and in December, nineteen, a total of two hundred and thirty-three in nine months. In addition to these, three hundred and sixteen vessels arrived in that period from other ports, making a total of five hundred and forty-nine arrivals, and an average of two vessels a day. The passengers of the year arriving by sea numbered thirty-five thousand, including twenty-three thousand Americans. Besides these passengers, three thousand sailors deserted their ships, and in the beginning of August two hundred square-rigged vessels were lying in the bay unable to get sailors. The number of immigrants who arrived overland in the course of the year was estimated to be forty-two thousand, including thirty-three thousand Americans. The large proportion of Americans secured their predominance in the mines where previously the aliens, mostly Spanish-Americans, had a majority. At the close of the year it was estimated that the population of California numbered one hundred thousand souls.

SEC. 64. *Call for Convention.* As population and business increased, the want of a better government was felt in many ways. It was already clear in the fall of 1848, that California would soon have enough inhabitants for a state, but it was understood that there would be difficulty in securing its admission. The members of congress from the south were dissatisfied upon finding that California would demand admission as a free state, thus destroying what they called "the balance of power,"—the thirty states then composing the union being equally divided between free and slave. It was with the anticipation that the next year would surely bring a large immigration, and that congress might be unable to provide for a government, that on the twenty-ninth of December a public meeting in San Francisco requested the election in January of delegates to a constitutional convention which should meet in March; but many of the districts held no election, and the time for holding the convention was postponed. When in the spring of 1849, there was no longer any doubt throughout the union that California must soon be a state, and that the ill feeling between slavery extensionists and their opponents would probably be embittered by delay, the cabinet sent word to General Riley, military governor, that California should not wait for preliminary action by congress, but should adopt a constitution and thus save the administration from much bother. In accordance with the suggestion of his superiors, sent to him unofficially, Governor Riley, on the third of June, issued a proclamation calling a constitutional convention, to consist of thirty-seven members, five of them from San Francisco, to meet at Monterey on the first of September. This document made no mention of the previous popular movement for a convention, and did not recognize those gentlemen who had been chosen delegates. There were some angry protests, but they amounted to nothing.

SEC. 65. *Ayuntamiento.* The governor had also given much offense by his action in reference to the city affairs. The people were dissatisfied with the administration of Alcalde Leavenworth, who did not efficiently preserve order or administer criminal justice. They felt the want of a deliberative body, and after a preliminary meeting, on the twenty-seventh December, they held an election for a town council, but the old council or *ayuntamiento* appointed by the alcalde declaring the election void, on the ground that the votes of aliens had been received, refused to surrender the books; and ordered an election for the fifteenth of

January. The number of voters at this second election having been so small that the council thus chosen did not command general confidence, a public meeting passed resolutions requesting both councils to resign, and ordering an election on the twenty-first February of a legislative assembly which should take chief management of the government of the city. This election was held and the two councils disbanded; but Leavenworth, the alcalde, would not surrender his office, which controlled the sale of town-lots, then the chief source of revenue, thus depriving the Assembly of much of the importance which they expected to enjoy. They took measures with little delay to eject him by legal process from his position, but before they could accomplish that purpose, Governor Riley issued another proclamation declaring the legislative assembly an illegal body, forbidding the payment of any money to them or their subordinates on municipal account, recognizing Leavenworth as still in authority, and ordering an election to be held on the first August—the day for choosing delegates to the constitutional convention—for a prefect, first alcalde, second alcalde, and an *ayuntamiento*. The legislative assembly denounced the governor, and desired the people to express their wishes through the ballot-box on the ninth July. Only one hundred and sixty-nine votes were then given in favor of the legislative assembly, and though but seven were cast on the other side, the decision was regarded as favorable to the Governor's course, and further opposition was abandoned.

SEC. 66. *City Government.* On the first of August, fifteen hundred and sixteen votes were polled; Edward Gilbert, Myron Norton, W. M. Gwin, J. Hobson, W. M. Stewart, F. J. Lippitt, A. J. Ellis, R. M. Price, W. D. M. Howard and Francisco Sanchez, were elected delegates to the constitutional convention, the last five as alternates, and the last two did not serve. J. W. Geary was unanimously elected first alcalde, an official similar in authority to that of mayor. At the first meeting of the new *ayuntamiento*, Mr. Geary submitted a message reviewing the general condition of municipal affairs, informing them that there was no office room for the transaction of government business, no police, no provision for the care of the indigent sick, and no fund for the burial of the pauper dead. He advised them that, in the absence of any state legislative authority, they were supreme in the district; and if they confined themselves within the legitimate sphere of their duty, their acts would be approved by the governor and confirmed by the legislature when it should be organized. He recommended the licensing of gambling—a piece of advice which was soon adopted and adhered to for nearly five years. The new administration went to work vigorously, especially in the matter of levying license taxes on business, and soon supplied all those things, about the lack of which Mr. Geary had complained. The first public building purchased for the purposes of the city government was the hulk of the brig

"Euphemia," anchored in the bay at the crossing of Jackson and Battery streets, for use as a prison.

SEC. 67. *Constitution.* The constitutional convention, composed of forty-seven members, of whom eight were from San Francisco, three of the alternates having been admitted as full members, met at Monterey on the first of September, and after completing its work, adjourned on the thirteenth of October. Nearly all the sections were quoted, word for word, from the constitutions of other states. There were few questions that excited much interest. The convention was almost unanimous in accepting the ideas that slavery should be forbidden; that the people had the right to settle the slavery question; that the people had the right to form a constitution without the intermediation of congress, or of a territorial government; and that the coast, from Oregon to Mexico, should be one state. These propositions were all the subjects of much debate afterwards in congress; but in the convention little was said against them. The question which excited more feeling than any other was the mode of raising the revenue. The people along the southern coast were afraid that all the taxes would be put on the land and cattle, and none on property in the mining districts; and they succeeded in carrying the clause that "all property shall be taxed according to its value," intending to deprive the legislature of the power of exempting any large class of property to the injury of any portion of the state. There was also much dispute about the eastern boundary, many of the members desiring to include Salt Lake.

The new constitution was submitted to the people on the thirteenth of November, and accepted by a large majority, with only five negative against two thousand and fifty-one affirmative votes in San Francisco. These negatives were doubtless cast by advocates of slavery, against which the general sentiment was emphatic, and had been expressed at several public meetings held in the city in the previous summer. The first legislature was to consist of sixteen senators, including two from San Francisco, and thirty-seven assemblymen, including five from the city. The capital was transferred from Monterey to San José. As there was no time to be lost, and there was no prospect of having any proper government till the state authorities should assume power, the people, when voting on the constitution, also elected a full ticket of state officials and two congressmen, though the population was not large enough for more than one. Peter H. Burnett was chosen governor, and Edward Gilbert and George W. Wright, congressmen. The constitution provided that in case of its adoption the administration chosen at the same time should enter upon its duties without waiting for the action of congress. This course superseded Governor Riley, who, in accordance with the spirit of his instructions, or confidential advices from Washington, on the twentieth of December issued an order relinquishing the administration of civil affairs in California to the state administration, which had been installed five days before.

Sec. 68. *Summer of 1849.* In the summer of 1849 San Francisco was a remarkable town. It covered an area of about half a mile square, the boundaries being California, Powell and Vallejo streets, and the water line, which for nearly a quarter of a mile south of Jackson street was near Montgomery street. Many of the people lived in tents, and most of the remainder in shanties or mere shells of houses. The tents and shanties were in some places built along the sides of trails or roads over the hills, without regard to the lines of the streets. The hill from Vallejo to California street, above Stockton, had much chaparral. There was no grading, planking, or paving in any of the streets; nor was there any wharf extending out to deep water. There were two small wharves, one about seventy feet long between Sacramento and California, its outer end being west of Sansome street and having five feet of water at low tide; the other, perhaps thirty feet long, on Commercial street, with not more than two feet of water at low tide at its outer end. This smaller wharf was used mainly for row-boats. The chief landing-place, besides the wharves, was at Clark's Point, near the intersection of Broadway and Battery streets, where the deep water came close up to the rocky shore. The beach along the front of the town was a sticky mud; south of Pine street it was sandy.

Among the notable buildings were the custom-house (an adobe building of one story on the south-western corner of Brenham Place and Washington street), the city hotel (an adobe of one story and a half on the south-western corner of Clay and Kearny), Mr. Mowry's dwelling (one story adobe on the north-eastern corner of Broadway and Powell), the adobe residence of Señora Briones (on the north-eastern corner of Powell and Filbert), a brick dwelling on the north-western corner of Washington and Powell, (originally of two stories, but now of four, two others having been added beneath, because the streets in front of it have been cut down about sixteen feet), and the Parker House (which was built at a cost of thirty thousand dollars, and rented at fifteen thousand dollars per month for a gambling-house), a two-story frame building on the site of the old city hall, fronting on Portsmouth Square. The south-eastern corner of Kearny and Washington streets was occupied by a large tent called the El Dorado, and that, too, was used for gambling. The Parker House was burned in December, 1849, and having been rebuilt, was converted into the Jenny Lind theatre, Thomas Maguire being the manager. It was burned again in May, 1850, and in June, 1851; and after the last fire the theater was rebuilt of brick with a stone front, which still stands as a part of the old city hall.

The population was not counted in 1849, but it increased rapidly. The number of inhabitants was estimated to be two thousand in February, three thousand in March, and five thousand in July. In November, at the election on the adoption of the constitution, and the choice of a full state ticket, an occasion that excited much interest, only two thousand and fifty-six votes were cast; and as no previous residence was required for voting, it is probable that more than one half the people of the city at that time were authorized to vote. After making all allowances for lack of interest among new comers, and the unwillingness to neglect profitable occupations for the sake of going to the polls, the entire population probably did not exceed eight thousand.

SEC. 69. *Hounds.* Before the installation of Geary as first alcalde, there was no systematic administration of justice, and criminals not content with exemption from public prosecution, organized themselves into an association called "the hounds," held parades and made attacks in open day upon Spanish-Americans, who were assailed under the pretext that they were foreigners and were taking away the gold of the Americans without any right. One excuse for this hostility was an unauthorized proclamation published by General Persifer Smith, at Panama, in January, where he had been told that the aliens, especially the Spanish-Americans, were becoming so numerous in California that neither gold nor room would be left for Americans. Notwithstanding the animosity of "the hounds" towards foreigners, many of them were new-comers from Australia, and English sailors who had never been in the Atlantic states. These fellows were more zealous for the rights of Americans than the Americans themselves. At night they were ready to rob without regard to nationality, and at last they became so outrageous and the inefficiency of Alcalde Leavenworth so manifest, that on the sixteenth of July a public meeting of citizens demanded the arrest and punishment of the leaders. A popular court was organized, attorneys for the accused were appointed, and after a fair trial two of the hound leaders were sentenced to ten years imprisonment and others to shorter terms; some were required to give bonds for keeping the peace, and all were frightened so that their organization was abandoned and most of them fled, some of them going off by sea. Those sentenced to imprisonment were soon released, as the judgment was not authorized by law or signed by any official, but they understood that San Francisco was not a safe place for them and they avoided it.

SEC. 70. *Auctions.* There was a wonderful disproportion between the vast amount of merchandise daily arriving and the scanty room in the store-houses of the town; for this reason, and partly also because the merchants of San Francisco were unknown by reputation or even by name to many of those who shipped goods to California, it became a common custom to sell cargoes by auction, the master, supercargo, or consignee selecting the auctioneer soon after his arrival. A man occupying a shanty with a sign "auction" over the front door, would sell property worth millions in a year. As capital, credit and fire-proof store-room increased, the auction sales lost much of their relative prominence, but they still hold an important place in the business of San Francisco.

SEC. 71. *More Lot Sales.* While adventurers continued to crowd in at the rate of several thousand every month, while the city grew and its trade increased with marvelous rapidity, while the harbor was filled with large vessels deserted by sailors, and while the gold dust, notwithstanding the large exportation, was accumulating by millions, the people were not indifferent on the subject of town lots. Nearly all the lots surveyed by O'Farrell had been sold before midsummer of 1849; and on the third of October the *ayuntamiento* ordered city surveyor Eddy to extend the survey north of Post street to Larkin street, and south of Post to Leavenworth and Eighth streets. The lots thus added to the city map, were soon offered for sale at auction, and some remaining unsold, the alcalde was authorized to sell them at private sale, the price for the hundred-vara lot being five hundred dollars, and for the fifty-vara lot two hundred dollars. These lots are now worth on the average several hundred times as much as they were in 1849, and some of them a thousand times as much. But the purchase did not look very promising then. Several of the buyers boasted of their prudence in examining the land in advance, so that they could get lots which had enough scrub oak for firewood to return the greater part of the price, and thus they could not lose much.

SEC. 72. *Inland Steamboats.* The arrival of the ocean steamer "McKim," on the third of October, was an important addition to the small steam fleet of the North Pacific. She was the first steamboat to run regularly between San Francisco and Sacramento, beginning her trips three weeks after she entered the Golden Gate. Previously most of the passengers and all the freight went by sailing vessels, which rarely made the distance in less than four days, and sometimes required two weeks, especially in seasons of high water or contrary winds. Occasionally passengers would go to Benicia in a sailing vessel, and from there take a row-boat, or walk or ride across the country. There were no stages, and teamsters could find the most profitable employment in hauling from Sacramento to the mines. The "McKim" was a slow boat, but she could make the distance of one hundred and twenty miles in fourteen hours, going up one day and coming down the next. This was a matter of vast convenience and economy, even when she charged thirty dollars fare for the trip. She had been running only a few weeks when the "Senator," a faster boat and much better fitted for the business, arrived and began to run to Sacramento, taking alternate days, so that there was a boat each way every day. The two boats were able to carry all the passengers and most of the freight. The "Gold-hunter" arrived early in 1850, and being a superior boat replaced the "McKim."

SEC. 73. *Plank Road.* The demand for some communication with the Mission, better than the road over loose sand winding about to avoid some hills and crossing others which could not be avoided, led to the passing of an ordinance in November, 1850, granting a franchise for the Mission plank road, as it was called, running by Kearny, Third and Mission streets, from California to Fifteenth street, a distance of three and a quarter miles. The work was commenced within a few weeks after the passage of the ordinance, and was finished the next spring. The toll on it was half a dollar for a horse and cart, and a dollar for a four-horse team. Mission street was preferred for the route to Market, because the latter was occupied from Second to Fifth street by a high ridge, and Kearny was preferred to Montgomery because the latter would have required a longer and more costly route. The chief expense of the enterprise was the grading, including deep cuts through several sand hills crossing Kearny street. One of these was near Post street, and in that cut, as a place which teamsters could not avoid, the toll-gate was established. One of the features of the road was a bridge about a hundred yards long built across a swamp that extended from near the corner of Mission and Seventh streets in an eastward direction to Mission cove. The road company made a contract for the construction of this bridge upon a pile foundation, but that plan had to be abandoned, because to the astonishment and dismay of the contractor, the first pile, forty feet long, at the first blow of the pile-driver sank out of sight; indicating that there was no bottom within forty feet to support a bridge. One pile having disappeared, the contractor hoisted another immediately over the first, and in two blows drove the second one down beyond the reach of the hammer. It was supposed that the second pile had driven the first one under it, and if so, there was no foundation within eighty feet. The project of piling was abandoned, and cribs of logs were laid upon the turf so as to get a wider basis than that offered by piles. The bridge thus made always shook when crossed by heavy teams, and gradually settled till it was in the middle about five feet below the original level.

The cost of the road was ninety-six thousand dollars, about thirty thousand dollars per mile, a sum that would now be sufficient to supply a good railroad. The stock of the company was one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and the dividends amounted to nearly eight per cent. a month on the investment. As the city grew and the number of people at the Mission increased, they began to talk about opening a free road on a parallel street; and to ward off that danger, the plank road company obtained another franchise for a road on Folsom street, which could be graded at a much less expense than Howard or Market. The Folsom street road ran for nearly half a mile across swamps, between Third and Eighth streets, and the builders had serious difficulty in filling up with sand until a permanent road-bed was made. In 1854 a high tide overflowed the road between Fourth and Fifth streets, and floated off the planking. The tolls on the two roads paid about three per cent. a month net on the capital invested from 1853 to 1858, when they became free.

SEC. 74. *Winter of 1849.* The winter of 1849–50 was very wet. The streets were soon worked into a deep mud by the traffic, and in many places it became little better than a swamp. Not unfrequently men were in danger of sinking out of sight in the mire, and it was a common occurrence to see them in up to their waists. Two horses sank so deep in the mud in Montgomery street, between Clay and Sacramento, that they were left there to die; and die they did of starvation, while hundreds of merciful men would have been glad to relieve them, but could not. Between Washington and Jackson streets, three men got into the mud of Montgomery street at night, probably in a state of intoxication, and were suffocated. Dirt and brush were thrown into the street at some of the crossings, but no gravel or lumber could be hauled to the places most in need of improvement, nor was there any arrangement to pay for such work out of any city fund. Labor and materials of all kinds could not be obtained for less than five or in some cases even twenty times as much as in New York, and all that could be done was to lay a board here and there, or throw a box, barrel or a keg into the mud. The people waded through the winter as well as they could.

The abundant rain was, however, not an unmixed evil. The merchants soon observed that gold dust was far more abundant than before. The monthly yield of the mines was three times greater after November than it had been in the summer. Thirty thousand men at least of the new arrivals did not get well at work until the wet weather commenced. The rise of the rivers drove the old miners from the river bars where they had been employed, and they were astonished to find that the ravines offered far more extensive, and to the majority, more remunerative diggings. The vast increase in the production was soon felt as a stimulus to the trade of San Francisco, which made rapid advances so soon as the streets began to dry in the spring of 1850. The monthly gold yield of 1848 averaged perhaps three hundred thousand dollars; that of 1849, one million five hundred thousand dollars; and that of 1850, three millions of dollars. At any rate the supply of dust increased with great rapidity, and also the demand for supplies.

SEC. 75. *1850.* The admission of California legalized the state administration chosen in the previous year, the statutes adopted at the first session of the legislature—including a city charter for San Francisco—and the election of a full set of city officials in May with John W. Geary as first mayor. The exportation of gold, as reported at the custom-house, amounted to twenty-seven millions six hundred thousand dollars, and the number of immigrants by sea was thirty-six thousand, and by land probably twenty thousand more. A federal census taken in June showed a total population of ninety-two thousand five hundred and ninety-seven in the state, but did not include San Francisco, Santa Clara and Contra Costa, the returns from which were lost. These counties two years later had forty-five thousand seven hundred and four inhabitants, and doubtless had thirty thousand in 1850, so that the entire population of the state was then not less than one hundred and twenty-two thousand. The taking of the census was an unprofitable business in those days, and was done in a manner that deserved little confidence.

The building on Brenham Place, previously occupied for the city offices, being no longer adequate for the increased business, the Graham House, a four-story wooden building on the northwest corner of Kearny and Pacific streets, built for a hotel, was bought for a city hall at the price of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The new government soon got into full operation, though the officials as a class were reckless and extravagant. The council voted themselves salaries of six thousand dollars each, but as their work occupied only two evenings of the week, a storm of popular indignation arose, and the ordinance was defeated by the mayor's veto. Not satisfied with this discreditable check, when the admission of the state was celebrated they voted themselves large gold medals, commemorative of the occasion, but as their liberality to themselves was severely condemned by public opinion, the municipal medals were never exhibited with pride.

SEC. 76. *Second Great Fire.* The second great fire occurred on the fourth of May and burned three blocks, of which two were between Clay, Jackson, Kearny and Montgomery, and one bounded by Washington, Kearny, Jackson and Dupont. The first fire in the previous December had injured the gamblers and speculators chiefly; the second fell severely on the merchants, who lost about three million dollars. The third conflagration, six weeks later, on the fourteenth of June, swept away everything between Clay, California, Kearny and the water front, which was then near Sansome. The amount of the loss was about the same as in the preceding fire. The ground burned over was in a few months covered with better buildings than before; and the growth and business of the city appeared to be rather stimulated than checked by the disaster. A fire-limit ordinance followed, prohibiting the erection of buildings covered with cotton cloth, but placing no restriction upon the use of wood. The purpose was rather to improve the appearance than to increase the security of the city. Numerous houses arrived in pieces on shipboard from eastern cities and were put up, some of them south of Market street in Happy Valley, which became the chief residence district of the city. The first directory was published in September, and had two thousand five hundred names.

SEC. 77. *Legislative Work.* The legislature met in January, and elected W. M. Gwin and J. C. Fremont federal senators. These two, like Gilbert and Wright were residents of San Francisco, which thus received four of the highest political honors which could then be conferred by California. No American statutory law having ever been adopted, and the law of Mexico having been superseded, the legislature was called upon to transact an immense amount of business, which was wonderfully well done, the circumstances of the case being considered. Among the bills passed was one to incorporate the city of San Francisco; the charter limits on the west being a line near the present Buchanan street, and on the south a line near Santa Clara street, both lines being considerably beyond any street surveys made up to that time. The limit on the north and east was the water front, and the south-western corner was near the Mission church. The area thus included was about two thousand seven hundred acres. The charter declared that the city should be the successor of the pueblo of Yerba Buena. The city government was to be intrusted to a common council in two chambers, the aldermen and assistant aldermen, each board containing eight members. The chief executive officer was the mayor. At an election held on the first of May, under the charter, Geary was chosen mayor, and all the other city offices were filled. Thus the city government was at last put into complete operation under American law. Besides the city of San Francisco, the legislature organized the county of the same name, including the entire peninsula for a distance of thirty miles from the Golden Gate, the southern boundary being San Francisquito creek. The county of San Mateo, afterwards organized, took about fifteen sixteenths of the area of the original county of San Francisco. The county had its legislative, executive and judicial officers, so that there were two local administrations in the city.

SEC. 78. *Admission.* The Californian senators and congressmen reached Washington in February, 1850, and, on the thirteenth of that month, President Taylor transmitted the constitution to the United States senate, with a message recommending the admission of the state. The ultra southerners did everything to delay or defeat the bill, which was drawn up by Douglas, as chairman of the committee on territories. Numerous amendments were proposed, and secession was openly threatened if the bill should be adopted. At last it passed the senate on the tenth of August, by a vote of thirty-four ayes against eighteen noes. The latter were all southerners, and among them were Jefferson Davis, Wm. R. King, J. Y. Mason, Pierre Soulé, and R. M. T. Hunter. Four days later ten southerners, including Davis, presented a protest, which the senate refused to receive. The following is an extract from it:

> We have dissented from this bill because it gives the sanction of law, and thus imparts validity to the unauthorized action of a portion of the inhabitants of California, by which an odious discrimination is made against the property of the fifteen slave-holding states of the union, who are thus deprived of that portion of equality which the constitution so manifestly designs, and which constitutes the only sure and stable foundation on which this union can repose. * * * Against this conclusion [the dedication of all California to freedom] we must now and forever protest, as it is destructive of the safety and liberties of those whose rights have been committed to our care, fatal to the peace and equality of the states which we represent, and must lead, if persisted in, to the dissolution of that confederacy in which the slave-holding states have not sought more than equality, and in which they will not be content to remain with less.

The threat contained in this protest was far more moderate in language than the resolutions adopted at many public meetings held in various southern states. A mass meeting at Montgomery, Alabama, on the seventeenth of August, declared that the application of California for admission was a stupendous fraud, and that the southern states ought to take measures to vindicate their rights—secession being hinted at in unmistakable terms. The pretext for the opposition was that slavery was excluded from the territory south of latitude thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, but the admission of a state which would give a majority to freedom in the senate was scarcely less offensive to the slave interest, though it was not considered politic to base the opposition on that point. The temper of the north was up, however, and all the attempts to throw the Californian bill into the unfinished business failed. On the seventh of September it came to a vote in the house of representatives, and passed—ayes, one hun-and fifty; noes, fifty-six, the latter all southern men. Two days later the president signed the bill, so the attempt to devote the southern part of California to slavery failed; the state was admitted, and the free states obtained a majority in the United States senate.

SEC. 79. *Rejoicing.* The news of the passage of the bill by the Senate was received with much satisfaction in California, and it was confidently asserted and generally believed that there would be no long delay in the lower house. When the time came near for the arrival of the October steamer from Panama, the people of San Francisco were waiting to hear that their state had been admitted. On the morning of the eighteenth signal guns were heard, and persons who had been watching on the hills, came rushing down into the town with the report that the mail steamer had entered the Golden Gate with an unusual display of bunting, indicating that there was some special cause of rejoicing. It was understood at once to mean admission, and the news flew over the town as fast as men could carry it. The story of the reception and celebration of the news is thus told in "The Annals of San Francisco:"

> October 29th. This day was set apart to celebrate the admission of California into the Union. When, on the eighteenth instant the mail steamer "Oregon" was entering the bay, she fired repeated preconcerted signal guns which warned the citizens of the glorious news. Immediately the whole of the inhabitants were afoot, and grew half wild with excitement until they heard definitely that the tidings were as they had expected. Business of almost every description was instantly suspended, the courts adjourned in the midst of their work, and men rushed from every house into the streets and towards the wharves, to hail the harbinger of the welcome news. When the steamer rounded Clark's Point and came in front of the city, her masts literally covered with flags and signals, a universal shout arose from ten thousand voices on the wharves, in the streets, upon the hills, house-tops, and the world of shipping in the bay; again and again were huzzas repeated, adding more and more every moment to the intense excitement and unprecedented enthusiasm. Every public place was soon crowded with eager seekers after the particulars of the news, and the first papers issued an hour after the appearance of the "Oregon" were sold by the newsboys at from one to five dollars each. The enthusiasm increased as the day advanced.

Flags of every nation were run up on a thousand masts and peaks and staffs, and a couple of large guns placed upon the Plaza were constantly discharged. At night every public thoroughfare was crowded with the rejoicing populace. Almost every large building, all the public saloons and places of amusement were brilliantly illuminated; music from a hundred bands assisted the excitement; numerous balls and parties were hastily got up; bonfires blazed upon the hills, and rockets were incessantly thrown into the air, until the dawn of the following day. Such an occasion beyond all others demanded a proper celebration at San Francisco; and the citizens, accordingly, one and all united to make the day memorable. On the twenty-ninth instant, a procession of the various public bodies and inhabitants of the city, with appropriate banners, devices, music and the like, marched through the principal streets to the plaza. The Chinese turned out in large numbers on this occasion, and formed a striking feature in the ceremonies of the day. The Hon. Nathaniel Bennett, of the supreme court, delivered a suitable oration to the people on the plaza, and an ode, composed for the occasion by Mrs. Wills, was sung by a full choir. During the day repeated discharges of fire-arms and a proper salute from great guns carried off some of the popular excitement, while the shipping displayed innumerable flags. In the evening public bonfires and fireworks were exhibited from Telegraph Hill, Rincon Point, and the islands in the bay. The houses were likewise brilliantly illuminated, and the rejoicings were everywhere loudly continued during the night. Some five hundred gentlemen and three hundred ladies met at the grandest public ball that had yet been witnessed in the city, and danced and made merry till daylight, in the pride and joy of their hearts that California was truly now the thirty-first state of the Union.

SEC. 80. *Clipper Ships.* The California clippers, sailing vessels measuring one thousand tons or more, with sharp bows, sides modeled with careful regard for ease of motion through the water, tall masts, long bowsprit and yards, and capacity to carry a great spread of canvas, made their appearance in the latter part of this year, in answer to the demand for the quick transportation of large quantities of freight to San Francisco. They were as much superior in size and elegance of marine architecture to the Indiamen of England as these were to the clumsy luggers of Holland. Time being precious in reaching the golden market, they charged for several years on certain kinds of freight fifty dollars a ton, or about four times as much as had been paid usually to sailing vessels for voyages of the same distance; and in return they kept all sail set to the limit of safety. They made the trip from New York to San Francisco often in less than three months, and ordinarily took one third less time than the old style ships. With a good breeze, they could leave ocean steamers behind. Sailors saw them at first with amazement and have not yet lost their admiration, though clipper ships have ceased to be the exclusive possession of American shipowners, or to be employed entirely in the Californian trade. The early clippers earned nearly enough to pay for their cost by the freight of a single voyage; and on several occasions when the cargo was shipped by the owners, the profit on it was twice the cost of the ship.

The names of the early clippers, unlike the "Eliza," the "Euphemia," the "Thomas H. Perkins," the "Mary Jane," and the titles fashionable for the slow ships, were frequently suggestive of the romance of a sailor's life. The "White Squall," the "Flying Cloud," the "Typhoon," the "Trade Wind," and the "Sovereign of the Seas," were among the notable pioneer vessels that did honor to the American flag on both the great oceans. As the expenses of lying at a wharf in San Francisco were very high, one hundred dollars or even two hundred dollars a day for large ships, it was feared that the long time required for discharging two thousand tons of freight, and taking in a cargo of ballast, would eat up much of the profits. Instead, however, of taking a month for the work, the stevedores, under the stimulus of extra pay, succeeded in doing in a day what elsewhere consumed a week.

SEC. 81. *Pioneer Society.* Some of the citizens of San Francisco, impressed with the remarkable events in which they had taken an active part, in August organized the Society of California Pioneers, to which anybody who had arrived before the preceding January might be admitted. Much fault has been found with them of late that the admission of the state was not the limit of date, but such a limit could not be fixed when the state had not been admitted.

SEC. 82. *Wharf Contracts.* As the company owning Commercial street wharf made an immense profit from it, and as there was ten times as much business as it could accommodate, it was evident that notwithstanding the high cost of wharves, they offered excellent opportunities for investments, so there was a rush for franchises. In October, 1850, Market street wharf had extended out from the shore line six hundred feet into the bay; California, four hundred; Sacramento, eight hundred; Clay, nine hundred; Washington, two hundred and seventy-five; Jackson, five hundred and fifty-two; Pacific, five hundred and twenty-five, and Broadway, two hundred and fifty. Other wharves or piers running along the water front, and named after individual owners, were fifteen hundred feet long. The aggregate length of all the wharves was more than six thousand feet, and the cost to that date about one million dollars.

Soon after the wharf builders began their march out into the bay, the graders started to follow, crowding upon their heels. The first filling in of a water lot was done by Captain Folsom, on California street, west of the site of the present Bank of California, and although the work was extremely expensive, it was immediately recognized as a good investment, and others imitated the example. After the wharves were built out on Clay and the parallel streets into the bay, it was found convenient to build cross streets on piles, thus inclosing the blocks, and in more than a score of instances shutting in old hulks which had long been dismantled and had been used as storehouses. Of these, the "Niantic" subsequently became the most notable. She measured four hundred and fifty tons and was hauled up at high water to the lot on the north-west corner of Sansome and Clay streets. Her masts were taken out, her rigging and some of her ballast removed, piles were driven on each side to keep her from turning upon her side, and she was used for storing merchandise. The May fire of 1851 destroyed all save that part of her hull below the level of the ground and some of her ribs, and on the site was erected a hotel called the "Niantic," the foundation of which rested on the remains of the hull. In 1872 the wooden building was torn down and the hull dug out to make room for the foundation and cellar of the brick building which now occupies the place. In the course of their digging the laborers found that the bottom of the hull was filled with dirt, covering various articles of merchandise, including several dozens of champagne, which had been buried for twenty-one years. The dirt was doubtless washed in on the occasion of the fire, and nobody had in the meantime thought it worth while to examine what lay buried there.

SEC. 83. *1851.* In 1851, the gold manifested at the San Francisco custom-house for shipment amounted to thirty-four million dollars, and the number of immigrants by sea was twenty-seven thousand. It was now considered certain that the gold mines would not be exhausted in a life-time; that they would contribute immensely to the wealth of the nation, and that California would continue for years to attract immigrants—points about which there had previously been serious doubts. The establishment of a semimonthly mail was ordered; the statute "to settle private land claims in California," as it was called, though a more appropriate term, as suggested by its results, would have been, "An act to despoil owners of land under Mexican grants," was adopted; large federal appropriations were obtained for various public works in California. All these measures were carried through congress mainly by the influence of Senator Gwin, who now rose into prominence as the leading representative of the state in congress. His associate, Senator Fremont, and the two representatives Gilbert and Wright, were young men without legislative experience, and their terms expired in a few months after they took their seats. Gwin had been in congress before, had many personal friends at Washington, was in political sympathy with men occupying high positions in the administration, was industrious, and had the ability and tact required for success in American politics.

The legislature confirmed all the sales of water lots in the city previously made without legal authority by any *ayuntamiento*, town council, or alcalde, thus perfecting the titles of the occupants, and putting an end to much uneasiness among the citizens. A new legislative apportionment gave the city one ninth of the members of the legislature, whereas previously it had one eighth. The city debt had grown to one million and a half dollars, and as the current expenditures were equal to any sum that could be raised by taxation, the legislature had to pass a funding act. The police was inefficient, and the frequency of unpunished crime led in February to the organization of a vigilance committee, which in July and August hanged three murderers after extra-constitutional but deliberate and orderly trials. Two great fires in May and June swept away property valued at thirteen million dollars. The Jenny Lind theater, now the old city hall, the American theater on the north-east corner of Sansome and Halleck streets, and two free schools established under the authority of the state, were opened in the last quarter of the year.

Meantime the city continued to grow in population and increase in business. The adventurers became citizens; tents gave way to frame houses, and frames gave way to brick. It became a matter of vast importance to obtain security against fire, and the erection of fire-proof buildings was commenced.

SEC. 84. *Fourth and Fifth Fires.* The fourth fire, called the great fire, as surpassing all the others, came on the anniversary of the May fire of the previous year, and destroyed property valued at seven million dollars. It really commenced a little before twelve on the night of the third of May, but was called the fire of the fourth. It swept away the entire business portion of the city, and that included nearly everything, for there were few families or fine dwellings in those days. The burned district was three quarters of a mile long and a quarter of a mile wide, and more than fifteen hundred houses were destroyed. Sixteen blocks were burned, including ten bounded by Pine, Jackson, Kearny and Sansome; five bounded by Sansome, Battery, Sacramento and Broadway; one bounded by Kearny, Montgomery, Washington and Jackson, and fractions of five other blocks. Many of the brick buildings supposed to be fire-proof, were unable to withstand the intense heat of half a mile of flame fanned by a high wind. Vast quantities of goods were destroyed, and the destruction of these contributed greatly to swell the loss. Among the buildings burned were the custom-house, the Jenny Lind theater, the Union hotel, on the north-eastern corner of Kearny and Commercial streets, and the banks of Page, Bacon & Co., Burgoyne & Co., and Wells & Co. The banks of Argenti, James King, and H. M. Naglee, escaped. These six were the principal banks of San Francisco in those days; not one of them remains, nor is any partner of either of them engaged in banking in this city now. The El Dorado and the Verandah, both gambling houses, on the eastern corners of Kearny and Washington, successfully defied the flames. The custom-house, a three-story building on the north-western corner of Montgomery and California streets, was burned, with a large amount of goods. A number of persons perished in the fire—how many was not known. In some cases men stayed inside of the brick stores with barrels of water, intending to risk their lives in the hopes of saving their buildings and goods. Twelve men were shut up in Naglee's building for three hours, in the midst of intense heat and almost suffocating smoke, but they survived. Six who remained in the store of Taaffe, McCahill & Co., were not so fortunate; the store was destroyed, and they lost their lives in it.

The fifth and last fire (loss two million dollars), that of June 22, 1851, began on Pacific, near Powell, and burned eight blocks, bounded by Broadway, Jackson, Powell and Montgomery; three blocks between Stockton, Montgomery, Jackson and Washington; and fractions of five other blocks. The principal buildings burned were the city hall (formerly the Graham House), the city hospital, the Jenny Lind theater, and the old adobe on the plaza. The losses may appear great for a city which had so few fine buildings, but a shanty in those days with its merchandise might cost almost as much as a palace now.

These fires exercised great influence upon the politics, building and trade of the city. The May fire in 1851 was attributed to incendiarism; and it was reported that one man charged with arson was beaten to death while the fire was raging. The amount of property exposed in the streets was so great that the citizens organized into a patrol or committee of vigilance, which soon extended its jurisdiction, and hanged murderers as well as protected property. Merchants, unable to secure their property on land, put their goods into store ships, and the harbor was filled with old hulks until 1854, when the brick stores, really fire-proof, began to furnish room and safety on shore. Unable to make bricks or to cut stone, except at terrific prices, orders were sent abroad for incombustible building materials. Granite was brought from China and Quincy; lava from Honolulu; and bricks from Sydney, New York and London.

The scenes at conflagrations were as remarkable as was the city itself. Most of the inhabitants were men between the ages of twenty and forty, of rare activity and energy, and deeply interested in protecting the place against destruction. At the cry of fire, they rushed out, anxious to check the flames at the start, and the streets became the scene of wonderful confusion. At first there was a current of people running at full speed to the fire, with engines and hose carts thundering over the sonorous planks; foremen shouting through their hoarse speaking-trumpets, while the men at the ropes yelled mutual encouragement for higher speed. When the conflagration became large, the scene was terrific and sublime. The roaring of the fire, the crackling of the timbers, and the shouts of the firemen and of the citizens engaged in saving merchandise or furniture, combined to make a frightful noise. The flames of the light pine and redwood shot up in immense sheets, dense clouds of smoke made a contrast to the bright fire, and the furious gusts of wind carried up into the air burning shingles, and large pieces of blazing wood. The firemen rushed desperately into the most dangerous positions with their hose, their axes, their hooks and ladders; and an excited crowd of Americans, Frenchmen, Germans, Mexicans, and Chinamen struggled to carry away furniture, clothing, and other valuables beyond the reach of the danger. Man and fire engaged in a fierce but brief struggle; in a few hours the destructive element had exhausted its fury; millions of property had been destroyed; hundreds of men before wealthy were almost penniless, and smouldering ruins were all that remained of costly edifices and precious merchandise.

The day after the fire another wonderful scene was presented. Instead of sorrow, idleness or despair, the city seemed to be gifted with new life. The ground burned over was covered with men pouring water upon the embers; wagons were busy everywhere hauling away the ashes or unloading bricks and lumber; the saw and hammer were heard on every hand. The price of labor and building materials rose suddenly; the merchant of the day before had become a laborer or mechanic, and within a week many of the houses were already open for business again.

SEC. 85. *Vigilance Committee of 1851.* On the twenty-second of February, a mob collected to punish two men arrested under the names of Stuart and Windred on a charge of having robbed and tried to murder C. J. Jansen. Though grave crimes had been committed in large numbers, none of the offenders had been punished. The police were inefficient if not criminal, and the judges and prosecuting attorneys showed no zeal in their business. The people saw that if they wanted an effective administration of justice they must take charge of it themselves, and accordingly about three thousand citizens gathered at the City Hall to take decisive action. Twelve men were selected as a jury; W. T. Coleman was appointed public prosecutor, and D. D. Shattuck and Hall McAllister, lawyers, were designated to defend the accused, who were then tried. Jansen testified that the prisoner called Stuart, who however truly declared that his name was Burdue, was one of the robbers who attacked him in his store on the nineteenth of February, and as the prosecuting witness bore a good reputation, and had no known motive for perjury, the multitude were convinced. But three of the jury refused to convict, whereupon many of the outsiders demanded the acceptance of the verdict of the majority, and cried, "hang them!" being disposed to execute Windred too, though Jansen did not recognize him distinctly, and the chief evidence against him was that he had been caught in Burdue's company. The leaders would not disregard the decision of their own jury, but they had great difficulty in preventing the execution of the prisoners by the mob, which surrounded and threatened the City Hall till one o'clock the next morning. Burdue was discharged.

In the first week of June some of the same persons, who had been active in the previous February, held meetings, and formed "a committee of vigilance," with a constitution, records and officials. The main purpose was to punish incendiaries suspected of having set the great fires, but they soon found other work to do. They had scarcely organized, when, on the evening of June tenth, John Jenkins, reputed to be an ex-convict from Sydney, was caught in a boat while carrying off a small safe which he obtained by burglary from a store on Commercial street. The evidence against him was conclusive, and the committee, after trying him in its rooms, pronounced a verdict of guilty, and sentenced him to death. The multitude outside approved the verdict, and at two o'clock in the morning he was hanged to a beam of an adobe building on Brenham Place, opposite to Portsmouth Square.

SEC. 86. *Coroner's Verdict.* A coroner's jury, on the twelfth of June, found a verdict that Jenkins was executed by certain persons styling themselves "a committee of vigilance," of which nine persons, whose names were given, were members. The publication of this verdict was immediately followed by a manifesto signed by one hundred and eighty-two citizens of the committee, expressing their surprise at the invidious verdict after the signers had informed the jury that they were all participators in the trial and execution, and declaring that the nine persons named were unnecessarily picked out from the members of the committee, when the jury had full evidence that all were equally implicated and equally responsible. These one hundred and eighty-two signers included a majority of the leading business men of the city, and their conduct was generally approved by the citizens who had not joined their organization. Nobody doubted the guilt of Jenkins, the inefficiency of the courts, or the intention of the committee to exercise its power with prudence and decision. They made no secret that they had violated the law, and were leagued together to violate the law in the future, but they were faithful servants of the cause of justice, for whose sake they assumed very serious personal responsibilities. When they made a public avowal of their participation in the execution of Jenkins, they could not know what the future had in store for them. At the same time that they protested against any attempt to single out a few of their number for prosecution or odium, they published an address stating that they were convinced of the presence of a band of robbers and incendiaries in the city, that the criminals arrested by the police had escaped punishment, that the committee was ready to receive information about crime and criminals, that convicts then in the city should leave within five days, and that convicts arriving by sea should be forbidden to land.

SEC. 87. *Execution of Stuart.* The committee soon found more work to do. James Stuart, a professional murderer and robber, for whom Thomas Burdue had been arrested by mistake in February and tried, fell into their hands in July, and on the eleventh of that month was tried. He complained during the progress of the trial that the proceedings were "tiresome," asked for a chew of tobacco, and confessed that he had committed a multitude of capital crimes. The evidence was conclusive, the verdict guilty, and the sentence hanging on the same day. He was left two hours with a clergyman, and then marched down to the end of Market street wharf, where a framework, built to support a pulley used in hoisting freight in and out of vessels, served for the execution.

A grand jury of the county soon afterwards made a report containing the following justification of the course of the committee:

> When we recall the delays, and the inefficient, and we believe that with truth it may be said, the corrupt, administration of the law, the incapacity and indifference of those who are its sworn guardians and ministers, the frequent and unnecessary postponement of important trials in the district court, the disregard of duty and impatience while attending to perform it manifested by some of our judges having criminal jurisdiction, the many notorious villains who have gone unwhipped of justice, lead us to believe that the members of the association have been governed by a feeling of opposition to the manner in which the law has been administered and those who have administered it, rather than a determination to disregard the law itself. * * The grand jurors, believing, whilst they deplore their acts, that the association styling themselves "the vigilance committee," at a great personal sacrifice to themselves, have been influenced in their actions by no personal or private malice, but for the best interest of the whole, and at a time, too, when all other means of preventing crime and bringing criminals to direct punishment had failed, here dismiss the matter.

SEC. 88. *Whittaker and McKenzie.* Soon after the execution of Stuart, the committee arrested Samuel Whittaker and Robert McKenzie, who, on the twenty-first of August, before dawn, were taken from the rooms of the committee by the sheriff, under a writ of habeas corpus, issued on petition of Governor McDougal. At half-past two, P. M., on Sunday, August 24, twenty-nine members of the committee went to the county jail, overawed the jailors, took the two prisoners to the rooms of the committee on Battery street between Pine and California, and there, amidst a vast concourse of people summoned by the tap of the fire-alarm bell, hanged them. This was the last public act of that committee. It never dissolved formally, but it ceased to hold its meetings. No judicial proceedings were ever taken against its members on behalf of the state, but several suits for damages were instituted by those whom the committee had treated as suspicious characters.

After Burdue had been released by the committee, he was arrested by the police as James Stuart, to whom he bore a resemblance so close that their familiar acquaintances could not readily see any difference. A criminal court found him guilty of robbery and afterwards of murder, and he would doubtless have been hanged (the judicial tribunal made a mistake which the mob of February 22 avoided), had not the right man been caught in time. One of the vigilantes took the proper steps to secure the release of Burdue, who was thrice saved from unmerited punishment by the influence of the committee. It thus protected the innocent as well as punished the guilty.

The committee ordered many professional criminals to leave, and having obtained a list of vessels which had carried convicts from England to Australia, with the names of the passengers on each, sent a committee on board of every vessel from that country so soon as she entered the harbor, and made inquiry about the time when, and conveyance by which, every native of Great Britain had reached the colony; and if it appeared that he or she had been transported for crime, permission to land was denied, and the passage-money for the return was paid. The precise number of Australian convicts exiled and ordered to return before landing was never reported, but probably exceeded fifty.

SEC. 89. *Land Commission.* Congress passed the act to settle the land titles in California in March, 1851, providing a special tribunal or board of commissioners with authority to examine all claims made to land under grant under Mexico, and confirm all valid grants. The act made no reference to the promise given by Commodore Sloat in his proclamation issued on the seventh of July, 1846, when in taking possession of the country on behalf of the American government, he declared that thenceforth California would be a portion of the United States; and as an inducement for accepting cordially, or at least peaceably, the change, he assured the people that "all persons holding titles to real estate, or in quiet possession of land under color of right, shall have those titles guaranteed to them." This language was doubtless used under express instruction from the cabinet; we know that Commodore Sloat had been ordered in 1845, to seize California at the first outbreak of hostilities, and we may presume that directions were given to him in regard to what he should say when he made the seizure. "Color of right" is a phrase common in American jurisprudence, and would not have been adopted except under the suggestion of a lawyer. Even if Sloat exceeded the authority conferred by his instructions, that fact could not be known to the native Californians, and they were justified in believing that he had full power to make the promise, which thus became a solemn contract under the law of nations with every one who submitted to the American authority.

The phrase "quiet possession of land, under color of right," means any possession authorized by the law; or any possession that is not a wrong to the government or some individual. A tenancy at will—the weakest of all lawful tenures—which may be terminated by the owner at any moment and without notice or condition, is a tenure under color of right. By Sloat's promise, the government was bound in honor and law to confirm the titles of all the Californians who had taken possession of ranchos with permission of the local authorities, and had petitioned the government for grants. They held "under color of right." They were entitled to the confirmation of their titles, after an examination as brief and simple as the circumstances would permit, and with as little expense as possible to the claimants. The government should have made a list of all ranchos, the possession of which was matter of common notoriety, and mentioned in the archives; should have confirmed them summarily, then surveyed them and issued patents for them. The claims which were not mentioned in the archives or had not been reduced to possession, might properly have been subjected to a careful judicial inquiry. Above all things, it was important, in a country that changed so rapidly as California did after the treaty of cession, that the action should be prompt. To leave the land titles in doubt was to deprive the people of their property.

These plain principles of justice and reason were utterly disregarded by congress and the politicians. No provision was made for confirming claims held under mere color of right; those which had been held in notorious possession for generations, as well as those of the most suspicious character, were alike subjected to a hostile, costly and tedious investigation, a large part of the cost being thrown upon the owners.

The Mexican land system was entirely different from that of the United States. The Californian ranchos were granted not by the acre, but by the square league. There were no surveys, seldom any precise boundaries. It was sufficient in the description of a rancho to say that it was a tract of ten square leagues, including a certain place, or that it was a small valley, or that it extended from one range of hills to another. The change from that system to the new one should have been made at the expense of the new government, not of the claimants, and especially not at a time when the government denied their title. The native Californians suddenly surrounded by a strange population, strange laws, a strange language, strange customs, and strange industries, were virtually deprived of the bulk of their wealth, and then compelled to raise money to defend themselves against complete spoliation by the government. They had to go to San Francisco, where all the cases were tried (though some witnesses were heard at Los Angeles) take their witnesses with them, and employ lawyers who in many cases measured their fees by thousands of dollars or thousands of acres.

Nor did the trouble and expense thus imposed upon the land owner come to an end when he had gained his case in the land commission. As the boundaries as well as the titles were in doubt, the Americans, who wanted to buy farms for the purposes of making permanent homes, were afraid to pay for deeds in which they could place no confidence. Under compulsion, it may be said, they became squatters, that is they seized and occupied, as their own, land claimed under Mexican grant. Having once made their settlement, they acquired interests which they defended in the courts. If they could defeat the Mexican grants they would acquire the land for a trifle. They were numerous, and became a political power. The governor, the legislature, the courts, the federal senators, the congressmen, and the federal attorneys, who managed the suits against the Mexican grants, courted them. Squatterism tainted legislation and jurisprudence. Senator Gwin went so far in subserviency to it that he introduced a bill providing that if the courts should finally confirm any Mexican grant, including land occupied before March 3, 1851, by a squatter, the latter should hold the property and the lawful owner might take the same amount of land elsewhere, perhaps in some remote place. The federal attorney, instead of striving to do justice, made every effort to defeat and delay the confirmation of hundreds of claims since recognized as valid, appealed them first to the United States district court, and from there to the United States supreme court, making three trials on the title, and as many on the boundaries, and each at great expense to the owners. There were squatter governors, squatter legislatures, and a squatter press. An act was passed in 1856 to provide that all lands should be deemed public till the legal title had passed from the government to private parties (Mexican grants were declared not legal titles till finally confirmed); that actual and peaceable possession should be presumptive proof of the right of possession; and that in ejectment suits, if the verdict were against the defendant, the jury should appraise the value of the improvements put upon the land by the defendant, and the value of the land without the improvements; and the plaintiff could get the land by paying for the improvements, or take the money-price fixed upon the land. The juries were impaneled by squatter sheriffs, and the appraisements were always in favor of the squatter defendants. The statute was declared unconstitutional, so that plundering trick was defeated.

The general result was that the rancheros had to give on the average half of their land to get their titles confirmed, and then waited eight years before they could get out the patent. To obtain the means of living in the meantime, they had to sacrifice a considerable part of what was left to them by the lawyers and the courts. The Noe, Bernal, Sanchez, De Haro, Peralta, Moraga, Alvarado, Vasquez, Vallejo, Soto, Estudillo, and Castro families, which once owned lands now worth one hundred million dollars in and near San Francisco have entirely disappeared, or are reduced to a few pitiful acres. But for all this injustice to the native Californians there was a compensation—the lawyers of San Francisco accumulated great wealth, and they and their grantees hold hundreds of leagues of the most valuable land in the state.

The land commission opened its sessions in San Francisco on the second January, 1852, and received claims till the third of March, 1853, the total number being eight hundred and twelve. The filing of some of the petitions relating to lands in or near to San Francisco, made a lively sensation in the city. Among these the most notable were those of Limantour, Santillan, and Sherreback, who laid claim to nearly everything worth having south of California street.

SEC. 90. *1852.* The gold shipment of 1852, as recorded in the custom-house books, was forty-six million dollars, and the number of immigrants by sea sixty-seven thousand; both figures showing a large increase over those of former years. According to a state census taken in June, California had a total population of two hundred and fifty-five thousand one hundred and twenty-two, including thirty-six thousand one hundred and fifty-four in San Francisco, or about one seventh of the inhabitants of the state. The federal commission appointed to settle private land claims began its sessions, and made a very large and very profitable business for lawyers. The city council, acting jointly with the supervisors representing the county, bought the Jenny Lind theater for a city hall and court house, paying two hundred thousand dollars for it (twice as much as it was worth), or rather promising to pay, for, in those times, the city debtors received scrip in payment, and the council, relying on the paper-mill for funds, was not troubled by any anxiety to make both ends meet. One public creditor, Dr. Peter Smith, who had maintained a hospital for the indigent sick of the city in 1850, having demanded payment of his dues in vain, (and nobody denied the debt), obtained judgment, and the council, instead of paying him, allowed him to sell a large area of land claimed by the city at sheriff's sale. It went for a mere trifle, because prominent officials declared that purchasers would get no title. The Peter Smith sales were sustained by the courts for much of the land, and the city was despoiled.

The "Herald's" insinuations of fraud in the purchase of the Jenny Lind theater provoked Alderman Cotter so much that he challenged John Nugent, its editor, and healed the official honor by breaking a journalistic arm. Edward Gilbert, editor of the "Alta," was killed by J. W. Denver, for ridiculing Governor Bigler, under whose appointment Denver held an office. Yerba Buena cemetery was opened for general use, and the removal to it of the remains in the cemetery near North Beach was commenced. Raousset went to Sonora with his first expedition of Frenchmen. The streets were lighted for the first time with city lamps, oil burners, of which there were ninety. A station for signaling vessels was erected on a hill near Point Lobos, and the signals repeated at Telegraph Hill, gave information of the arrival of ships when they were fifteen miles or more from the Golden Gate.

SEC. 91. *French Immigration.* Some Frenchmen who had been scattered over the Pacific islands and Spanish-America arrived in California with the first rush of adventurers in 1848, and their letters encouraged their countrymen to come to the gold mines. Facilities for migration were offered by the frequent departure of vessels from Bordeaux with wines, brandies, sardines, olive-oil, sauces, canned meats, bottled fruits, and various other French products that found a ready sale in the diggings. In 1850, the Parisian "lottery of the golden ingot," in which a bar of gold was the chief bait, offered many passages to California among its prizes, and in 1851 about five hundred French men and women, most of them nearly penniless, were transported to San Francisco by their successful tickets. The advertisements of the lottery, and the articles about it in the newspapers, caused a gold fever in Paris, such as did not prevail in any other part of Europe, and the "ingots," as the lottery immigrants were called in France, instead of finding themselves the majority of the adventurers from their country, were outnumbered by others, so that the French became one of the prominent features of the population of California; and even now, after a continuous decrease of the French residents for nearly a quarter of a century, San Francisco has yet relatively more Frenchmen than any other city in the Union save New Orleans.

They were at a great disadvantage as compared with the British, Irish, Germans and Scandinavians, because as a class they did not learn English, and they would not be naturalized. Most of them went to the mines, but in several of the camps where they were most numerous they were attacked by bands of ruffians and robbed of their claims, the demagogue office-holders refusing to protect men who had no votes.

The expulsion of the French miners from many of their claims was most unfortunate for California, since if they had been protected and encouraged, the immigration from France would have been large and continuous, giving to the country a class of people who would have been of great value to its agriculture and commerce, as well as to its mining. Those who came contributed not a little to the industry of San Francisco, where most of them collected after the outbreaks at the diggings. Few of them knew any mechanical trade at which they could earn much money, and on account of their ignorance of English they were excluded from occupations which they could otherwise have pursued with profit. Several thousand of them were dissatisfied, and though generally peaceable, they offered excellent material for some desperate enterprise.

SEC. 92. *Raousset.* Gaston de Raousset Boulbon, a count by birth, a native of Provence, thirty-five years of age, thought he could give them congenial employment that would accrue to his own honor and to the benefit of his country. He knew the sting of disappointed ambition. Notwithstanding his noble title, excellent education and superior talents, after coming to California almost penniless, he had been in the mines, then fisherman, hunter, stevedore and shoveller of sand, and had not, in any capacity, obtained more than a scanty compensation. He thought Sonora was a field suitable for himself and his adventurous countrymen in California. Here they were subordinate and powerless; there they might obtain dominion. It was supposed and confidently asserted that the basin of the Gila was as rich in gold as the western slope of the Sierra Nevada, and it was known there were, besides, many silver mines fully opened, and wanting nothing but the expulsion of the Apaches to enable the Mexicans to render them productive within a few months.

He spoke to his friends of organizing a party of Frenchmen to settle in Sonora, and they encouraged him. In the latter part of 1851 he went to Mexico, where he was received with much favor by Levasseur, French minister, under whose counsel a company called the *restauradora*, or restorer, was organized, to occupy and work the mines of Arizona. President Arista approved the plan of the company, promised to assist it, and advised capitalists to take stock in it. Many of the mines to be occupied were well known by name and reputation, but they had long been abandoned. The fame of the richness of these mines, the opinion that Sonora exceeded all other portions of Mexico in its mineral wealth, the promise of governmental protection, and the advice of the French minister induced the banking house of Jecker, Torre & Co., which had French sympathies, to contribute a large part of the funds needed for the undertaking.

With this aid Raousset returned to San Francisco, and found no difficulty in gathering followers. He was required by his contract with the government to take at least one hundred and fifty armed Frenchmen to Sonora but he took two hundred and fifty, landing at Guaymas on the tenth of June. Instead, however, of being welcomed with open arms by the local authorities, as he expected, there was a feeling of ill-concealed hostility. Soon after he left the capital, intrigue had been commenced to prejudice the administration and the people against him. The English feared the dominance of French political influence, and the control of the treasure shipments and foreign commerce of Mexico by French merchants. Some Mexicans were afraid the French would repeat in Sonora the game which the Americans had played in Texas. Assertions were made that Raousset had told his friends that he intended to establish a colony that would be of more value to France, and that would attract more French settlers than Algeria. If the president, Arista, was not convinced, he at least became apprehensive, and authorized a company, headed by the wealthy British banking house of Barron, Forbes & Co., to take the same mines which had been previously set apart for the French company.

SEC. 93. *Fighting in Sonora.* General Blanco, Governor of Sonora, doubtless followed instructions from the capital when he refused to fulfil the conditions of the French contract, but he acted as if he had a personal grievance, and as if the entrance of anybody into his state with an independent command was an insult to himself. He was mean as well as hostile. He attempted to get the French commander away from his men, and finding that he could not succeed by that kind of treachery, he sent word on the twenty-eighth of August, when Raousset was at Saric, near the northern frontier, that the Frenchmen must enter the Mexican army, take out letters of security as aliens without the right of owning any mine or real estate, or reduce their military organization to fifty men under a Mexican commandant. All these demands were submitted to the adventurers in mass meeting, and were instantaneously, indignantly and finally rejected, with the declaration that they would fight to the last rather than submit to any one of them. So soon as the governor of Sonora learned their reply, he sent word to the local authorities near Saric that the French were not to be recognized as the owners or lawful occupants of any mines.

On the sixth of October, Raousset, seeing that nothing could be done where he was, started for the capital of the state, determined to see what could be done there. If he had submitted without protest to the gross insults offered, and pecuniary wrongs done by the Mexican officials, he could have left the country in peace, but neither he nor his men felt like sacrificing a point of honor, as well as of business interest, for the sake of avoiding danger, so they marched gallantly and gaily to the chief city of the state, stopping for several days at Magdalena to enjoy the amusement of a religious festival and a large popular gathering. They were a jolly set of fellows, and made friends with the common people there and at all other places where they stopped.

They entered Hermosillo on the morning of the fourteenth of October, driving out Governor Blanco and his twelve hundred soldiers, who had a defensive position selected in advance, the shelter of thick adobe walls, and all the advantages of fighting among their own people. Blanco had a narrow escape from capture. Raousset was now in possession of the chief city of Sonora, and he determined to hold the state with the assistance of those inhabitants friendly to him and hostile to the central government. He consulted several influential citizens, who promised to aid him, and they told him they would organize a general revolt. He depended upon them, and they did nothing—probably they never intended to do anything. Before he could discover their inefficiency or bad faith, dysentery, with which he had been troubled before, became severe, and reduced him to a helpless condition. None of his subordinates was capable of leading the party, and they could not maintain themselves where they were, so they marched to Guaymas, carrying their commander in a litter. Arrived at the port, they made a treaty with Blanco, he paying forty thousand dollars, and they leaving Sonora. They returned to San Francisco, where they learned that the news of the battle of Hermosillo had been regarded throughout California as the conquest of Sonora, and thousands of Frenchmen would soon have gone to their aid. A party of six hundred men, well provided with arms, was ready to sail.

Raousset, who was not a party to the treaty, so soon as able to move, went from Guaymas to Mazatlan, and thence to San Francisco, where he was received with distinction, his men giving him high praise for courage, capacity, generosity, and considerate attention to their feelings and material wants, declared themselves ready to follow him again. All the dissatisfied Frenchmen in California hoped that he would make another trial with better luck the next time. He was determined to make another effort; he had wrongs to avenge, he had convinced himself that a considerable party in Sonora would favor independence, and he believed that, with his reputation, all that was necessary for success was a good start.

He was encouraged by Dillon, French consul in

San Francisco, and affairs in Mexico turned in his favor. President Arista was dethroned in January, 1853, by Ceballos, he by Lombardini in February, and he by Santa Anna in April. In June, under an invitation from Levasseur, Raousset went to Mexico, where Santa Anna received him with favor, promised to compensate him for the injustice done by Arista, and made a contract with him for the introduction of a company of five hundred armed Frenchmen into Sonora. They were to receive one hundred and eighteen thousand dollars a month as regular pay, besides fifty thousand dollars in advance, for transportation and equipment. The contract was written out, approved by the council, signed by Santa Anna, and then annulled by him. To pacify the ambitious Frenchman, he offered him the command of a regiment in the Mexican army, but Raousset refused, and wrote a note to the president stating that he had come not so much for his own gain as to get justice for the Frenchmen who had been defrauded by the Mexican government, and hinted plainly that Mexicans are liars. He returned to San Francisco to find that in the meantime a filibustering party of Americans under Walker had left San Francisco to seize Sonora. If they should get hold of the prize for which he had been scheming, there would be no chance there for France. He could not afford to waste any time.

SEC. 94. *Obstacles.* Raousset and his poorer friends had before vainly appealed repeatedly to all the French capitalists of San Francisco for aid in seizing Sonora for France, but now three houses came forward and subscribed three hundred thousand dollars, enough to arm and transport one thousand five hundred men and maintain them till they could get control of the revenues of Sonora. Before any of the money thus subscribed was paid, a report was published that the American government had bought Sonora, and though not generally credited, there was good reason to believe that the Washington cabinet was negotiating for the cession of at least part of Sonora. The capitalists would advance no money under these circumstances.

While matters were in this position, Santa Anna, frightened by the proceedings of Walker, and considering the French the only secure protection against the American filibusters, instructed Del Valle, the Mexican consul at San Francisco, to send three thousand Frenchmen to settle as a military colony in Sonora. This order filled Raousset with ecstacy. The Mexican government, at its own expense, was providing for him far more than he demanded for his triumphs. He told his men to go, and in a few days eight hundred had applied to Del Valle and had been accepted. But the friends of the filibusters were not indifferent to this danger. They saw that if these Frenchmen should get secure foothold in Sonora, no room would be left there for Walker, slavery or annexation. The federal attorney in San Francisco had Del Valle and Dillon arrested, and the "Challenge" seized for violating the neutrality laws of the United

States. There was much doubt whether those laws had been violated, but there was no doubt that the charge must be made if the Frenchmen were to be headed off. It succeeded. The "Challenge" sailed on the twentieth of April with three hundred colonists, but many of them were men whom Raousset would not have taken, and few others followed. The delay gave time to Santa Anna to see that there was no serious danger in Walker, and to recover from his scare. He felt grateful to the American authorities for protecting him against the three thousand Frenchmen. Raousset was in despair. The American officials would permit no emigration of French military colonists, and there was no other way of getting the force needed to establish French authority in Sonora. Louis Napoleon, though solicited for aid, had refused. If a great conquest was to be made for France, it must be made by the three hundred who went in the "Challenge." Some of them had gone at Raousset's request, and with the assurance that he would follow, so he determined to go. He saw that in all probability the venture would be fatal to him, but there was a remote possibility of conquering for France not Sonora alone but all Mexico, and with that purpose distinctly avowed to a few friends he left San Francisco, in a sloop of ten tons, on the night of May twenty-fourth. He made his departure in the darkness to avoid arrest, for he had been informed that a warrant had been issued against him for violating the neutrality laws.

SEC. 95. *End of Raousset.* It was his plan to land in secret, join the "Challenge" party, seize Guaymas or some other sea-port town and wait for reinforcements from San Francisco, or a revolution in his favor in the interior. His arrival was announced before he landed, so Gen. Yañez in command at Guaymas, where the "Challenge" party had remained, could not be taken by surprise. Raousset went ashore and was received politely. The Mexicans anticipated trouble. When the French went out into the streets they were assailed by the populace. Yañez had a regiment of Mexican soldiers, and on the morning of the thirteenth of July more troops arrived from the interior, raising his force to twelve hundred men, and it was reported that eighteen thousand were to arrive the next day. The French would not wait to be attacked. They went to the house where Raousset was, called on him to lead them. He refused to take command, but joined them in a disastrous attempt to storm the Mexican barracks. After a hundred had fallen, the remainder surrendered, under a promise by the French consul on behalf of the Mexican authorities that the lives of all should be spared. The conditions first offered to the French included life to all save Raousset, if they would lay down their arms, but they refused, and then the exception was withdrawn. Notwithstanding this explicit promise, Raousset was shot on the twelfth of August, dying with free hands, open eyes, and a firm countenance. Of these we are told by witnesses of his execution; and that his heart was gay we learn from his letters written on the night before his execution. As one of his biographers says, "he was a Cortez slain at the beginning of his enterprise." He had the material but not the opportunity for a great conqueror. If he had received a little assistance from Louis Napoleon he might and probably would have done far more for France in Mexico than Maximilian did ten years later. His death was the end of the scheming among the Frenchmen of San Francisco for the conquest of Sonora.

SEC. 96. *1853.* In 1853, the gold exportation culminated at fifty-five millions, as officially reported, though the yield of the placers had probably reached its highest point in the previous year. Mining being the chief industry, and the one upon which all others depended, everything was affected by its decline, which, however, was not generally understood or discovered by merchants and bankers in San Francisco till the close of the year, and even then many of them were not fully convinced. There was a decrease in the rate of wages; and for the first time there was a large return migration to the Atlantic states, so that the gain of population by sea was only three thousand, or at least seventeen thousand less than in any of the previous four years. At the same time there was a great falling off in the immigration by land, and it did not again approach its previous magnitude until after the railroad had been completed.

The period within which Mexican land grants had to be filed in the land commission under penalty of confiscation of the title, expired in March, and as the speculation in city land had been the source of much wealth, and was looked to for much more in the future, the citizens were not a little concerned to find that two claims had been filed for nearly everything south of California street, and a third one claimed eight hundred acres in the district south of Market and west of Second street. While the Limantour, Santillan and Sherreback claims covered three deep much of the best upland, the "Peter Smith men," as the purchasers at the sheriff's sale in the previous year were called, were trying to seize a strip six hundred feet wide outside of the permanent water front, by the help of the legislature, and Governor Bigler. Intense indignation prevailed among the citizens against the proposed fraud, and after it had passed the assembly, it was defeated in the senate by the casting vote of Lieutenant Governor Purdy. Notwithstanding Bigler's efforts in favor of the extension bill, and his great unpopularity in San Francisco, he was renominated under the influence of Broderick, who had obtained a predominant influence in the Democratic conventions of the city and state. The chivalry politicians hated Broderick and Bigler, and many of them voted against the latter; so the former, as chairman of the state committee, published an address to the people, denouncing them as traitors to the party.

The real estate prices, which had been rising rapidly since the fall of 1848, culminated in December, 1853, when two full blocks, known as the "city slip," between Clay and Sacramento streets, east of Davis, were sold at public auction. This land was intersected by the wharf of Commercial street, and included lots then believed to be among the most valuable sites for business houses in the city. Montgomery, between Pacific and Pine, had now become the street of the most elegant stores; Stockton street and Rincon Hill had the most costly residences.

The construction of the plank road on Folsom street to the Mission, gave access to an extensive area previously, on account of the sand hills and swamps, inaccessible for wagons. Russ's garden, on the corner of Sixth and Harrison streets, became the first popular suburban Sunday resort. The erection of a telegraph line to Point Lobos, and the connection of the wires with the Merchants' Exchange, led to the abandonment of Telegraph Hill as a station for signaling vessels. An electric telegraph brought the city into instantaneous communication with San José, Stockton, Sacramento and Marysville. The Metropolitan theater on the west side of Montgomery street, between Washington and Jackson, one of the largest and most elegant buildings of the kind in the United States, and the Union theater on Commercial street, above Kearny, offered opportunities for dramatic performances, in addition to the American theater on Sansome street, and the Adelphi, occupied by a French company, on the west side of Dupont, north of Clay. The First Unitarian church on Stockton street, between Clay and Sacramento, and the First Congregational church on the south-west corner of Dupont and California, were completed, and St. Mary's cathedral was commenced on the corner diagonally opposite. These were three of the leading congregations of San Francisco at the time, and the situation of their buildings was in the vicinity of the fashionable residence district. Other notable events of this year were the sailing of Walker's expedition to conquer Sonora and Lower California, the foundation of the Mercantile Library, the adoption of a comprehensive system of grades, the erection of Montgomery block, and the election of C. K. Garrison to the office of mayor.

SEC. 97. *City Slip Sale.* In December the city council passed an ordinance to sell the city slip water-lots—they were covered by the bay, some of them to a depth of twenty-five feet at low tide—in the two blocks bounded by Clay, Sacramento, Davis and East streets. This slip had been set apart by ordinance for a public dock, but it was evident, after Commercial, Clay and Sacramento street wharves had been built out, that the place would soon fill up, and the project to sell was, therefore, a wise and proper one. The council consisted of two boards, each containing eight members, one for each ward. The ordinance to sell having received a majority in the board of aldermen, and four out of seven votes in the board of assistants (one member had resigned), was declared passed, and the property was sold on the twenty-sixth of December, at public auction, the average price of the lots being nine thousand seven hundred and eighty-four dollars; the total, one million one hundred and ninety-three thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars. One fourth was to be paid down, one half in two months, and the remaining fourth in four months from the day of sale. The Sacramento street and Commercial street wharf companies threatened to enjoin the sale, on the ground that they had built their wharves on the faith of the ordinance setting off this property for a public dock, and the council, on the day of sale, passed an ordinance giving one hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars out of the proceeds to those companies as a compensation for the injury done to them.

SEC. 98. *Filibuster Walker.* The expedition of Raousset with his Frenchmen to Sonora, in 1852, under a contract with the Mexican government, provoked much angry comment among the American slavery extensionists. They looked forward to the conquest of Mexico as a matter of manifest destiny, and the introduction of negro slavery there as a source of much wealth and political influence to the gulf states. The establishment of a large French population anywhere in the sister republic, and especially near the border, was represented as the deliberate planting of an obstacle in the path of the Union, and as an act of monarchical intervention in the affairs of the republican hemisphere. It was partly for the purpose of excluding Raousset from the southern half of the Gila basin, which was supposed to be the richest part of Sonora in mineral wealth, that in 1853 a treaty was negotiated by the cabinet of Washington with Santa Anna for a region that now forms a considerable portion of Arizona. This treaty, however, left abundant room in Mexico for the ambitious Frenchman, and before anything was known of the negotiations for it, some of the slavery extensionists in San Francisco thought that the responsibility of defeating Raousset's purposes rested upon them. The leading men among them, mostly lawyers from the slave states, had numerous consultations upon the subject, and they agreed, in the summer of 1853, that the proper remedy for the danger of a French occupation of Sonora was the conquest of the country by a filibustering expedition.

William Walker, a native of Tennessee, then thirty-three years of age, who had been a lawyer and editor in California, was selected as commander by the San Francisco conspirators. He was a ready writer and speaker, a man of moderate ability in every respect, but brave and willing to risk everything rather than live in obscurity. He imagined that he was destined to establish the dominion of the United States over Mexico and Central America, and misled by that fancy, spent years with small bands of ruffians in fighting and plundering the unfortunate Spanish-Americans in those districts which he selected as the fields of his exploits. Money was subscribed, bonds of the new republic of Sonora and Lower California were printed and sold, a flag was made, and meetings were held in the city hall, where the men considered desirable recruits for the expedition were brought together under injunctions of secrecy, addressed upon the brilliant promise of the adventure, and enlisted. There was no difficulty in getting men; money enough was gathered to buy arms and charter the brig "Arrow;" but when she was nearly ready to sail, General Hitchcock, commander of the United States forces in California, seized her on a charge of violating the neutrality laws. This procedure gave great offense to the federal officials generally, most of them slavery extensionists, and the federal attorney ordered the release of the vessel, on the pretext that there was not "a scintilla of evidence" against her.

General Hitchcock could do nothing in the matter without the support of the civil authorities, so he made no further effort in that direction, more especially as he found that he had not the approval of those whose influence was most potent with the federal administration. Almost as soon as replies could be received from Washington, it was rumored that he would be degraded, and in the following February he was superseded by General Wool, who was required to transfer his headquarters from San Francisco to Benicia, so that if any further filibustering expeditions should be organized, they might leave without passing under his nose. Jefferson Davis, then secretary of war, received credit from the friends of Walker for the excellence of his management.

The seizure of the "Arrow" did not defeat the enterprise nor long delay it. The arms and stores were transferred to the bark "Caroline," which sailed on the sixteenth of October with forty-six men, a small force to be used in conquering an empire as large as France, and inhabited by one hundred and fifty thousand people. But Walker had the promise that reinforcements should be sent so soon as he had obtained a foothold. He landed at La Paz, the capital of Lower California, took possession of the town, and issued a proclamation declaring Lower California an independent republic, whereupon his followers elected him president, and he published a decree adopting the code of Louisiana as the law of the land. He and his chivalry friends in San Francisco wished to legalize slavery without mentioning it, and the adoption of the Louisiana code seemed to them the best method of attaining their ends. Being unable to maintain himself at La Paz, after a brief stay, he and his army of conquest set sail for Magdalena bay on the west coast of Lower California, and thence they moved in a few days to Muertos, a point on the coast about a dozen miles from the American boundary, whence in case of attack they could soon escape to friendly territory, and whence they could conveniently send letters describing their victories over the enemy. These letters as given in the San Francisco papers excited an ardent desire among moneyless scamps to share the glories "of extending the area of freedom" over the bare mountains and cactus covered plains of northwestern Mexico. The flag of the new republic was hoisted at the corner of Kearny and Commercial streets; its bonds were exhibited in the shop-windows and sold openly; the money paid for them by the original purchasers being generally considered as so much thrown away; enlistments of filibusters were made without concealment, and on the thirteenth of December the bark "Anita" sailed with about two hundred men. Their main reliance for provisions was the cattle of the country, taken without compunction of conscience, and if the owners were not satisfied with the only pay offered by Walker's band, they were insulted, and in some cases beaten or even shot. Unable to contend on equal terms with the invaders, most of the Mexican rancheros in the vicinity fled with their families and cattle, and the filibusters were compelled to move sooner than they had intended, though they never expected to stay long at Muertos.

Walker announced his intention of marching to Sonora, and issued a proclamation annexing that state to his dominion and announcing that the name of the nation was the Republic of Sonora. All this was done with the most solemn sincerity on his part, but the men ridiculed the procedure and had no intention of marching, without proper supplies, four hundred miles through a desolate country and then entering the settled districts of Sonora with less than three hundred men. They were desperate, but not insane. They did not object to danger, but they wanted some reasonable hope of compensation. They were willing to plunder the Mexicans, but the prospect of a long march through a desert, with the possibility that just after crossing it they would be shot down like dogs, did not suit them. So most of them deserted, crossed the line, and became peaceful American citizens again. Walker took a serious view of their desertion, regarding it as treason to his authority, and having caught some of the offenders, shot two and drummed two others out of camp after a severe flogging. He shortly afterwards started on his march with about one hundred men, but the Mexicans harassed them so much that there was no hope of saving the cattle on which they depended for food, and they were glad to reach the American territory and surrender themselves to federal officers who had been informed of their coming. They were taken as prisoners to San Francisco, where President Walker, Vice-President Watkins and Secretary of State Emory were indicted for violating the neutrality laws. Watkins was convicted after a long trial, and fined fifteen hundred dollars; but as there was no alternative of imprisonment, and as he never paid the fine, there was no punishment. He might have saved some time for himself, and much needless trouble to the federal officials, by pleading guilty. Emory having seen that the vindication of the neutrality law was not a very grave matter, pleaded guilty, and was in like manner ordered to pay fifteen hundred dollars into the United States treasury, an order which he never condescended to obey. Walker himself was acquitted, and his republic of Sonora and

Lower California disappeared from the records of the criminal courts and the chronological tables.

SEC. 99. *Six Years' Work.* The period of nearly six years from the beginning of the gold excitement till the end of 1853, was marked by a steady and rapid increase in the production, or at least in the exportation of gold, and therefore called "The Golden Era," saw San Francisco rise suddenly from the condition of an insignificant village, almost unknown to commerce and geography, to that of one of the leading seaports, with a semi-monthly steam communication by way of Panama with New York, and the illumination of the North Pacific ocean and its shores with the bright light of high civilization. The tents and shanties that made up a large part of the city for several years after the gold discovery, having been cleared away by the great fires, were succeeded by substantial brick buildings, and a hundred acres of the bay were filled in to make room for more. Everything that was necessary for a metropolitan center of business—warehouses, wharves, banks, large stocks of merchandise, extensive relations with distant markets, and able newspapers, as well as the social wants of schools, theaters, libraries and churches—were supplied at short notice.

California, like San Francisco, rose as if at one bound from the stagnation of semi-barbarous pastoral life to the varied arts and restless activity of a refined civilization. All the energies were drawn to the mines and the means of supplying them. Agriculture and the agricultural districts were neglected. Although money was abundant and there was a great rush of people to the mineral regions, their apparent prosperity was delusive. The miners generally lived in tents and rude cabins, without wives or female relatives, without permanence of residence or regularity of occupation. Deprived of the influences of home life, many became dissipated or extravagant and lost the disposition, if they ever had the capacity, to save their earnings. The government did not permit them to acquire fee-simple titles to their claims, or even to farms in the vicinity, and having no opportunity to enrich the land they despoiled it. The more they made, the poorer it became. The wagon roads were bad, or were covered by heavy tolls; there were no railroads; and business generally was conducted on the hand-to-mouth principle as nearly as possible. Gambling was carried on publicly in all the towns, and the most costly champagnes and cigars were imported from France and Havana for men who supported themselves by the pick and shovel. In 1850, settlements had been made in nearly all the towns now existing in the mining districts on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada between Mariposa and Oroville; El Dorado was the most populous county in the state; Sacramento, Stockton and Marysville were the chief river ports where the miners got their supplies; and Petaluma, Vallejo, Napa, Santa Rosa, San Rafael, Martinez, Santa Clara, Redwood, and Eureka on Humboldt bay, were centers of business in the coast region.

CHAPTER V.

THE GOLDEN ERA IN DECLINE.

SECTION 100. *1854.* The flush times of 1853 were followed by a serious depression in the next year. There was a decline of four million dollars in the gold exportation, a decrease of one fourth in the tonnage of the vessels entering the port, and a still greater decrease in the prices of real estate. A fever for erecting fire-proof brick buildings had followed the great conflagration of 1851 and had outrun the demand, and now hundreds of the business houses were vacant. The increase of agricultural production in the state had greatly reduced the demand for imports; and having supplied nothing of note for exportation, it cut off much of the traffic of resident merchants, as well as of foreign shipowners. Mr. Broderick attempted to take advantage of the state by getting himself elected to the federal senate a year in advance of the proper time, but failed, and the people gave an overwhelming majority at the September election to his opponents, the chivalry candidates. The gas works went into operation and furnished light for the streets in February. Omnibuses began to run between North Beach and South Park at intervals of half an hour. The owners of the steamboats plying on the inland waters tributary to the Golden Gate, combined in the California Steam Navigation Company, which for fifteen years afterwards had control of the passenger and freight traffic between San Francisco and the chief inland ports. The Hoadley grades were modified, saving about one hundred feet on the top of Telegraph Hill, which Hoadley had proposed to cut down so much. Portsmouth square, previously open, uneven and filthy, was graded, supplied with an iron fence, and planted with grass, ornamental trees and shrubs. In October, Henry Meiggs failed for eight hundred thousand dollars, and fled to Chile, after issuing forged city warrants, forged promissory notes and fraudulent shares in a lumber company to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars or more. Paving with cobble stones, as preferable to planking, was introduced in those blocks where land was most valuable, and among the streets thus improved were Montgomery between California and Washington, and Washington between Montgomery and Dupont. Powell street was graded from Clay to North Beach. Pacific was graded between Montgomery and Sansome, by a deep cut through rock. A road to North Beach was opened along the eastern base of Telegraph Hill. Meiggs' wharf was built, and Lone Mountain cemetery was opened, superseding Yerba Buena cemetery for general use.

SEC. 101. *Dillon and Del Valle.* The arrest of Del Valle, Mexican consul in San Francisco, as principal, and of Dillon, French consul, as accomplice in the violation of the neutrality laws of the United States, by enlisting Frenchmen to serve in the Mexican army, was followed by trials which excited great interest at the time. The testimony showed that the men were engaged as colonists, not as soldiers; but it was understood they might be required to serve in the Mexican army, especially if the American filibusters should become troublesome, and the jury, perhaps influenced by the feeling prevalent in the community, that the French should not be permitted to put any obstacle in the way of the march of American annexation, found Del Valle guilty. In the case of Dillon the jury disagreed. Del Valle was never sentenced, and the American government apologized to Mr. Dillon for having arrested him illegally for refusing to appear as a witness in the Del Valle case. Before the trials were ended, Raousset had been executed, and all fears of a French occupation of Sonora had been dissipated.

SEC. 102. *Mercantile Business.* The business of the merchant in San Francisco for years after the gold discovery was exposed to frequent and violent fluctuations, which could not be avoided by any experience or prudence. The city was the sole port of the only large and highly civilized community on the north Pacific. It was far from the other notable seaports in the same ocean, and as a market for imports was nearly equal to all the others together. No other Pacific port could exercise much influence by relieving the extremes of demand or supply at San Francisco; none could furnish the articles most needed by the miners. Oregon had only thirteen thousand inhabitants in 1850, and most of them were new settlers and busy in opening farms, so that they had little to export. Mexico had nothing to sell save silver; Asia nothing that California wanted save rice and sugar; Australia and Chile little save flour, and that was not to be had regularly in large supply. The north Atlantic was the source from which nearly everything was brought.

The distance from New York to San Francisco by the sailing route was nineteen thousand miles, and the time four months and a half, though the trip was repeatedly made in three months. All the freight before the opening of the Panama railroad, in 1855, came by way of Cape Horn. Letters by the isthmus required nearly a month; and after the receipt at New York of an order for merchandise to be sent to California, two or three weeks usually elapsed before a ship willing to take additional freight would sail. Thus, between the date of the order sent from San Francisco and that of the final delivery of the merchandise, there was an interval of six months, and there might be great fluctuations in that time. The merchant had to take the chances that the market would be overstocked or exhausted. He could not learn precisely what had been ordered by others, for the manifests sent out by mail and published after the departure of each ship from New York with a cargo for California, classed many articles as sundries, and often gave the number of packages without weight or size, so that when the article shipped was known, there was no clear indication of the quantity.

For many reasons it was not possible to keep large stocks on hand. The rate of interest in 1849 was ten per cent. per month, so that it was better to sell an article immediately after receipt for one dollar and loan the money than to keep it a year and then sell for two dollars. Such warehouses as there were, were not secure against fire. Merchandise could be put in store-ships, but the storage was from two to ten dollars a month per ton, and the lighterage, or transfer from the ship to the shore, was three or four dollars per ton. The merchants were newcomers, many of them inexperienced in the business, or men under thirty, so that they could not have long-established reputations. All the houses were highly combustible and liable to be swept away at two hours' notice by a conflagration, and the land-titles were defective, thus leaving the people without such basis for credit in their real estate as every community should have for high prosperity. The population was migratory, and sudden reverses of fortune were frequent. If there was not enough of an article, it would go up ten, a hundred, even three hundred-fold; if there was an overstock it might go down to nothing. The arrival of one ship often changed the condition from scarcity to glut, and made or marred several fortunes.

Lumber was worth four hundred dollars a thousand feet in the fall of 1849, twelve times the present price, and in the spring of 1850 it would not sell for enough to pay freight. Tobacco, which had commanded two dollars per pound, had been imported so abundantly that in the winter of 1849 boxes of it were thrown into the mud as a substitute for stepping-stones, and other boxes of it were used to make a foundation of a wooden house on the eastern side of Montgomery street, near Jackson. Saleratus, which could be bought in New York for four cents a pound, ran up to twelve and fifteen dollars. The miners generally having no professional bakers, nor yeast, nor skill in baking, depended upon it to make their bread light, and would have paid twenty dollars a pound rather than go without. Dried apples fluctuated from five to seventy-five cents a pound; whisky from forty cents to two dollars per gallon; carpet-tacks, which sold for ten cents a paper in New York, sold here at one time for one dollar and twenty-five cents; common candles rose to one dollar and twenty-five cents a pound, and New York butter, after rising to eighty, fell to six cents.

Apothecaries' scales, used in every business place for weighing gold dust, commanded high prices. Spring balances, worth three dollars a dozen in New York, sold for seventy-five dollars in San Francisco. Heavy canvas was used extensively for tents; and the rough boarding on the inside of wooden houses—or if there were no boards, the studding—was hidden under white muslin, which was fastened with tacks, of which, as well as of the muslin, there was a large consumption.

An example of the urgency with which things were wanted when they were wanted, was furnished by the keeper of a saloon who needed a large punch bowl in 1849, but could find none for sale. The nearest approach to it was a soup tureen, and not being able to buy it separately, he took the whole dinner set to which it belonged, though he had no use for the other pieces. Another keeper of a liquor shop having failed to find any white sugar in the market, bought barrels of Chinese candy and had it ground fine, as preferable to brown sugar.

In 1850 four firms made an agreement to take all the flour that should be delivered by a certain house from Chile within a limited period, the amount to be not less than one hundred thousand nor more than two hundred thousand barrels, at fourteen dollars per barrel. Each firm assumes a responsibility of seven hundred thousand dollars, and there was a forfeit of one hundred thousand dollars for a failure to comply with the contract. Soon after the flour began to arrive the purchasers thought they were secure of a vast profit, the market price being from twenty-five to thirty dollars per barrel. They had pocketed several hundred thousand dollars, and could have paid the one hundred thousand dollars forfeit, thrown up the contract, and had a nice surplus for themselves; but they kept on taking the flour, which began to fall under the influence of the large importations till it went down to ten dollars, and they lost all they had made and something more.

SEC. 103. *Staple Imports.* As a result of the necessity of importing provisions, the diet of the miners was peculiar. The leading articles of food imported, such as would bear the voyage round Cape Horn (passing twice through the torrid zone) with least injury, and possessing the most nourishment in the least bulk, were flour, salt meat, salt fish, beans, hard bread, rice, dried apples, coffee and sugar. Even so late as 1853, six thousand tons of hard bread were imported in one year from New York.

The San Francisco market was remarkable not less for its fluctuations than for its leading articles, which were different from those of any other city. Women were very rare in the mines, and the business dependent upon their patronage was scarcely worthy of mention. There was not much more demand for fine broadcloth than for ribbons and laces; but a large proportion of the articles which elsewhere every farm or neighborhood produces for itself, and which therefore do not pay tribute to metropolitan merchants, were here imported. There were no farms, in or near the mines, producing fresh vegetables, fresh fruit, milk, butter, eggs, chickens and pigs; no housewives making soap, candles, pickles, sweetmeats or clothing; no flax or cotton was grown; no sheep were shorn; no cloth was woven; no leather was tanned; no clothes, shoes or hats were made; no pottery was burned; no iron was smelted. A little wheat was ground, scarcely enough to be taken into consideration. The Californians had to send to New York for their provisions, clothing, tools, cooking utensils, table furniture, and many of the articles needed in building their houses. Other communities imported only a few articles relatively, and those few of subordinate value in the ordinary business of life. Not so in California. If they had been deprived of what they obtained from abroad, the Californians could scarcely have lived for a day.

SEC. 104. *Commercial Panic.* Early in 1854 a severe panic smote the mercantile business. The marvelous prosperity of the period from the beginning of 1851 till the middle of 1853 had led to overspeculation. Men supposed that the gold production, the imports, the value of real estate, the demand for storage, and the population would go on increasing at the same ratio as in the previous two years; and they made this supposition the basis of their calculations and contracts. They bought lots, built fire-proof houses, and ordered cargoes of merchandise from the east, and would have doubled their capital twice in a year, if their expectations of a continued increase in the yield of the mines and in the number of miners at the same rates as from 1849 to 1852 had been verified; but the mining production had already culminated in the winter of 1852-3, though the fact was not known or appreciated until several years later. The yield was probably larger in 1852 than in any other calendar year, though the exportation as officially reported was largest in 1853, when it reached fifty-seven millions; the next year it fell to fifty-one, and in 1855 to forty-three. The decline was at first attributed to unfavorable seasons; to the lack of water in the diggings, and to the early floods that swept away the dams and flumes just when vast sums were about to be taken from the beds of the rivers.

Whatever were the causes, the miners as a class felt the results. Many returned to the eastern states; others removed to the valleys and sought employment on the farms; thousands of claims previously highly productive were abandoned; only thirty-three thousand immigrants came in 1853 by sea, though sixty-six thousand had come in the previous year; the decline in production frightened the people in the mines, and many of them undertook to be economical; consumption decreased, and the prices of merchandise and land, and the rates of interest fell in San Francisco. The city had more stores and warehouses than she could use. Out of a thousand business houses in the middle of 1854 more than three hundred were unoccupied. Many of those who had bought large supplies of merchandise, or built costly fire-proof houses, failed in 1855, when they could bear up no longer. There were two hundred voluntary bankrupts, with deficits of forty thousand dollars each, on the average, in a city that probably had not forty thousand inhabitants.

Something of the decay of business in the city must be attributed to the growth of agriculture. Many of the immigrants of 1852 had gone to farming, and they were joined by thousands of miners in the next year, so that there was a large increase in the production of grain and vegetables, and a correspondent decline in the quantity of flour imported, in the number of ships needed, and in the profit of the consignees, warehousemen, jobbers, and draymen in the city. The value of certain kinds of provisions and grain imported was fourteen millions in 1853, only five in 1854, two the next year, and one in 1855. There was no compensating increase in the exports, exclusive of the precious metals. Quicksilver was more than one third in value of the exports between 1854 and 1857, and there was not enough of it in a year to load one large clipper ship. The shipping entering the harbor fell from four hundred and seven thousand tons (not counting steamers which carried little freight, or coasters) in 1853, to one hundred and ninety-seven thousand in 1857.

SEC. 105. *Meiggs.* By superior knowledge of business, attention to it, capacity, tact and manners, Henry Meiggs became a prominent citizen of San Francisco in 1850. With a prepossessing appearance and address, a kindly greeting for everybody, and a purse open for every public need and for every call of meritorious private charity, he was a general favorite. His decision upon bargains proposed to him was quick and clear. People had confidence in his judgment. His occupation in San Francisco was, as it had been in his native state, New York, that of buying and selling lumber. His place of business was at North Beach, where he built a little wharf and a planing and sawing mill. He also organized a company which erected in Mendocino county one of the largest and best sawmills in the state.

Meeting every day with the people owning land at North Beach, listening to their predictions of the advance of their part of the city, he adopted their ideas, became more sanguine than any of them, and satisfied himself that by speculation in lots there he could make millions. It was less than a mile from the business center of the city; it was nearer the Golden Gate; it had a larger area of level land; it had a water front where ships could anchor securely, though the winds and waves were higher than in Yerba Buena cove; it might be reached on a level road by a cut round the base of Telegraph Hill, and by Stockton street, over an elevation that did not exceed eighty-five feet in height; the titles of land were better than at any place south of California street, and the prices not one quarter of those in the district south of Pacific and east of Stockton. The city must grow, and every circumstance indicated in Meiggs' opinion, that, by proper management, a large part of its most valuable growth might be turned to North Beach. The more he thought of it, the clearer it became to him. Millions had been made by the owners of water lots in Yerba Buena cove, and he imagined that he could make as much out of the lots in North Beach. They could be had cheap, so he bought extensively, persuaded his friends to buy, built Meiggs' wharf two thousand feet long, and filled in some lots.

Having done more than anybody else for the improvement of the northern end of the city, he became so popular in that neighborhood that there was a general demand that he should represent it in the city council, and he took the place. The cemetery in the block bounded by Powell, Stockton, Lombard and Chestnut streets, was regarded as a drawback to the growth of that part of the city, and he obtained the passage of ordinances to close it, and to remove the bones of those who had been buried there to the new cemetery to be opened on the block now occupied by the new city hall. He graded part of Stockton street, and under his influence contracts were let for grading Powell street from Clay to North Beach, Francisco street through the northern end of Telegraph Hill, and several other streets along the northern and eastern sides of the hill, thus facilitating access to North Beach from the business centre of the city.

SEC. 106. *Forged Warrants.* But these improvements, the taxes and the street assessments, demanded more money than he could spare from his business. He had expected that his lots would now advance considerably in value, so that he could sell a few at a high profit, and obtain the means for going on with his plans; but the people could not be made to believe in North Beach, and besides, just at the time when he expected to sell—that is, in the spring of 1854—there was a serious decline of real estate throughout the city. He was a bankrupt; but that fact was his own secret, and he undertook to save himself by forgery, going into the business extensively. The city was then doing business on trust, giving to her creditors warrants or municipal promissory notes, without interest, attested by the signatures of the mayor and controller. Those officials were engaged in private business, and did not guard the blank warrants with proper care. Meiggs, as an alderman and business man of high position, was a frequent visitor in their offices. He was attorney in fact for a contractor, who was entitled to a large number of warrants for street work, and while getting them, could see where and how the blank warrants were kept. The blanks were supplied to the controller in book form, and it is supposed that, for the convenience of the officials, the controller signed a lot of blanks in advance, then the mayor signed also, and the paper was ready to be filled with the amount, name of creditor, date and number, torn out and given to the creditor. This was not less careless than convenient.

The city warrants were considered good security for one half their nominal value. Many of them were used by Meiggs as security for borrowed money. He was constitutionally a borrower. From the time when he undertook his North Beach speculation, he was never out of debt; he was nearly always pushed. "Shinning round" for money was a large part of his regular business. He said, in a joke, that it seemed an unnatural situation to him if he left his dwelling in the morning without having to hunt up a loan of forty thousand dollars in the course of the day. He found that nothing was accepted as security by the borrowers generally with less objection, delay and suspicion than city warrants; nor when he came to examine the circumstances, could he find any other fraudulent paper which he could obtain or use with so little danger to himself.

There is reason to believe (for the facts were never judicially or officially investigated) that Meiggs took a book of blank warrants already signed by the mayor and controller, and filled them up with the name, sum, date and number, in some cases copying the warrants which he had previously received, so that it would be a difficult matter for the officials to distinguish between the original and the duplicate. As no interest was to be paid on them, and there were no funds with which to redeem them, and no suspicions had been excited as to their genuineness, the holders did not take them to the controller's office for examination. Thus month after month went by without the discovery of the forgery, and meantime Meiggs was getting deeper and deeper into difficulty. To prevent detection it was necessary for him to pay interest punctually every month. Many of the lenders discovered that he was ready to pay more than the market rate and they exacted from three to ten per cent. a month, and some of them, it is said, even took one per cent. a day. His burden rapidly accumulated until his debts reached eight hundred thousand dollars; that was the figure fixed by common rumor, and, if correct, he probably had to pay not less than thirty thousand dollars monthly of interest. So long as he paid this, his creditors generally were satisfied to let the debt stand, and each might imagine that he was the only one to whom Meiggs was paying heavy tribute.

SEC. 107. *Other Frauds.* The forged warrants were not the only fraudulent resource of Meiggs. He used a number of forged promissory notes, and it is supposed that as he was not a skillful penman, the signatures, which were very well done, were executed by a clerk in his service. It is possible that some signatures repudiated as forgeries after Meiggs' flight, would never have been questioned if he had remained to defend himself. By his course he placed himself at the mercy of some who were worse morally than he was; but never having been publicly exposed, they could safely charge him with offences which he had never committed, and by this injustice to him they avoided the payment of honest debts. Among the forged notes used by Meiggs was one for fifteen thousand dollars, purporting to be drawn by Thompson & Co. A member of the firm discovered the fraud, but consented, under the influence of Meiggs' pleading, to conceal it, told the holder of the note that it was all right, and afterwards was compelled to pay it. Meiggs made a fraudulent overissue of stock of the lumber company of which he was president to the amount of three hundred thousand dollars, and upon this he obtained seventy-five thousand dollars; so said rumor, accepted at the time, but never proved to be true.

SEC. 108. *Meiggs' Flight.* At last, in September, 1854, it became evident to Meiggs that detection could not be avoided much longer. His only chance to escape bankruptcy and the consequent exposure of his frauds was based upon the hope that real estate at North Beach would come into demand; but many circumstances indicated that business would continue to grow worse rather better. Besides, the manner of people towards him began to change; his continuous solicitations for money, his payment of high rates, and the multitude of his loans became a subject of conversation and suspicion among the brokers and bankers. They foresaw his failure. Remark was made about his relation to street contracts, in some of which it was supposed that he had an improper interest. It was time for him to leave San Francisco.

He bought or chartered the brig "American," of several hundred tons, supplied it with a good lot of provisions and fine stores, including canned meats and wines, told his friends that he was going out to sail on the bay, took his family and brother along, and on the sixth of October sailed out through the Golden Gate and disappeared from the horizon of California. It was reported on the same day that he had failed for eight hundred thousand dollars, and when it was announced the next day that he had fled there was a terrific excitement.

The holders of the Meiggs warrants rushed to the City Hall, and there many learned that they had nothing save worthless paper as security. They numbered hundreds, and belonged to all classes, including bankers, merchants, city officials, mechanics, draymen and public women. He had taken advantage of the people to whom he furnished employment, and even his laundress was not spared. The city treasurer was a victim to the extent of twenty thousand dollars.

His brother, John G. Meiggs, who went with him, had been elected city controller a month before, but had not yet entered upon the duties of his office. His nomination was secured by Henry's influence, who perhaps hoped to have an opportunity of managing the forged warrants, so that their character would never become known to the public. There was no reason to suppose that John knew anything of the forgeries.

As there was no opportunity for trying him, the character and extent of his crimes were never established judicially. Many of those robbed by him considered it better for their credit to say nothing of the loss, save to their intimate friends. It was reported in the newspapers, at the time, that the nominal value of his forged paper-warrants, stocks and notes, amounted to two million dollars, and that he carried away five hundred thousand dollars with him; but afterwards the former figure was reduced to seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the latter to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

The bark "American" touched at Tahiti, and went thence to Chile, where soon after his arrival he found employment as an overseer of a small gang of men. His story had followed him, and people generally regarded him at first with suspicion and dislike; but the railroad contractors found that he was useful, and gave him a chance to exercise his talents. The work was very difficult, and the country poor in men competent to take charge of a large number of laborers in an enterprise of this kind. It was new to Meiggs, but he had high capacities, and was soon able to surpass all his rivals. He became a contractor, succeeded, and built the most difficult parts of the road between Valparaiso and Santiago. He said afterwards that he landed in Chile with only eight thousand two hundred dollars, and that he was at one time so poor that he was compelled to pawn his watch. Whether this was true or not, it is certain that in a short time he was recognized as a wealthy man, able to take contracts which required the advance of large sums of money. After he became well known, it was universally admitted that his arrival in Chile had been a great benefit to the country. The government, bankers, engineers, sub-contractors and laborers agreed in praising him.

His fame filled South America. When Peru undertook the construction of her system of railroads, he was invited to become the principal contractor, and he accepted the invitation. The possession of capital, experience and confidence gave him political influence, and he became one of the leading men of Lima. He built eight hundred miles of railroad, including some of the most difficult work of the kind in the world, and received on his contracts more than one hundred million dollars in Peru. As in California, before his departure, and in Chile, he succeeded in gaining general esteem.

For years he was anxious to return to San Francisco. By agents he bought up nearly all his notes, though paying in many cases only a small percentage of the principal originally loaned to him. In 1873, his friends applied to the legislature of California for the passage of a bill to exempt him from trial for his crimes, in case he should return. Both houses passed the bill, but the governor vetoed it, and that was the end of it. If signed, it would have been void; for the constitution does not confer the pardoning power upon the legislature. So Mr. Meiggs stayed in Peru, where he died in 1877, and was followed to the grave by the lamentations of the whole people, who admired him not less for his amiable character and charitable deeds among them than for his signal services to the country in the construction of its railroads.

SEC. 109. *1855.* As compared with 1854, which had been a year of panic in real estate and great loss in mercantile business for San Francisco, 1855 showed a decrease of six million dollars in the gold shipment, and of eighteen thousand in the number of immigrants arriving by sea. In February Page, Bacon & Co.'s bank, which had bought twenty million dollars' worth of gold dust in the previous year, and was the leading financial establishment of the state, failed in consequence of the embarrassments of its parent house in St. Louis. This disaster was followed by the failure of Adams & Co., the chief express company of California, and of many other banking houses, most of which never resumed. Adams & Co., who had built up the express traffic, and had a much larger business (counting transportation, banking, and the number of their servants together) than any other house in the state, disappeared forever, and Wells, Fargo & Co., the rival establishment, succeeded to the place. An excitement about the Kern river mines agitated the whole state, disturbed business in San Francisco during February, and then suddenly died out when the truth became known. Broderick obtained control of the democratic state convention and secured the renomination of Bigler, whereupon the chivalry leaders joined the new secret political society of the know-nothings, who obtained control of the state and city administrations, the Whig party having disappeared. The duty of the legislature to elect a federal senator this year was not performed, the members being unable to agree in a choice. The floating debt of the city was funded, three hundred and twenty-two thousand dollars in bonds being issued for two million fifty-nine thousand dollars in city warrants, most of which were repudiated, while others were acknowledged to be worth about one third of the sums which the city had solemnly promised to pay. This was an act of repudiation, the only one in the history of the city, but was so represented to the people that they did not fully appreciate the dishonesty of refusing to pay the explicit obligations incurred by the officials.

SEC. 110. *Adams & Co.* In 1849, the house of Adams & Co., expressmen, of Boston, sent D. H. Haskell as resident partner to found a branch house in San Francisco, where he arrived on the thirty-first October; and in a few weeks Adams & Co. made larger shipments of gold to New York than any other house. The business increased rapidly, and a banking department was added to the express, at the urgent solicitation of merchants. At first Adams & Co. did not extend their routes beyond Sacramento and Stockton, connecting at the former city with Freeman & Co.'s express, which had routes thence to the "northern mines," as they were then called, and at the latter city with Newell & Co., which had offices in the camps of the southern mines. Subsequently the firms of Freeman and Newell were bought out, and Adams & Co. had their offices and agents in all the towns of any note in California. They were, in 1853, unquestionably the leading business house of the state, dealing with more people, furnishing more accommodation to commerce and industry, handling more money, and probably making more profit than any other establishment. They undertook a careful system of assays to ascertain the value of the gold dust from different camps —ranging from fourteen dollars and fifty cents in parts of Mariposa county to nineteen dollars and fifty cents on the Lower Yuba—and they paid the miners the value, less a moderate discount. Wherever they opened an agency, the price of gold dust rose. By Adams & Co. the miners sent money to their families in the eastern states—probably aggregating five hundred thousand dollars monthly—and also obtained their letters, which were often addressed to San Francisco, and were there hunted out by the express for their customers, scattered through the Sierra Nevada. They used their influence efficiently to introduce the private gold coin—five, ten and twenty dollar pieces—struck by J. G. Kellogg and Wass, Molitor & Co. This money, though not authorized by law, contained as much gold as the government mintage of the same respective figures, and, in the scarcity of the other coins, was a great convenience to the public. Some of the bankers, expecting their profits in exchange and gold dust to be diminished by the general acceptance of the private coin, tried to excite prejudice against it, but were defeated partly by the influence of Adams & Co.

In May, 1854, the eastern branch of Adams & Co. was merged into a joint stock company, and the Californian branch was reorganized, with D. H. Haskell and I. C. Woods as general partners and Alvin Adams as a special partner, the business remaining under the same style and management, and continuing to extend and gain favor. The profits of the express department were about fifty thousand dollars a month, and the house had a capital of two million dollars. A New York bank which had promised to assist Page, Bacon & Co., of St. Louis, in building and raising the money for a railroad from that city to Cincinnati, having failed to keep its engagement, the former house saw itself on the verge of failure, and sent one of its partners to San Francisco to get as much gold dust as possible. Unfortunately for the Californians, the next steamer from Panama with the news of the St. Louis trouble was behind time, so that two steamers left San Francisco after the arrival of the partner and before the people knew that a disaster was coming. The result was that about one million dollars more had been carried away than would have been if the merchants and bankers had had the usual warning, and the lack of that sum was probably the main cause of the completeness of the crash that smote San Francisco on the twenty-third February.

On the day when the run began on Page, Bacon & Co., it became evident to Adams & Co.'s bank that they would have to close the next day, and that the attachments issued after the closing would not only be a source of ruinous expense, but would give such assets as might be saved from the ruin to a few creditors, leaving the others to lose everything. The house owed perhaps two million dollars to depositors—mostly poor men, there were no savings banks then—and the alarm was so great and general that it would all be demanded the next day, though there was not cash on hand to pay one tenth of it. A large portion of the capital was in fire-proof brick buildings, which had decreased much in value with the decline of the mining towns, and yet would pay a good profit on the investment if the express business could be continued, as the resident partners hoped it would be.

To preserve the popularity and good-will of the express department, if possible, the resident partners considered it important to secure a ratable distribution of the assets of the bank among the creditors. There was then no federal bankrupt act, and the state law gave the property to the attaching creditors according to the date of their levies; so the first might get paid in full, while those later got nothing. To avoid the injustice of the attachment law, if possible, it was considered advisable to obtain the appointment of a receiver, who should act as trustee for all the creditors and pay his fair share to each. An amicable suit was therefore commenced in the name of Adams against the other partners, and under this proceeding, A. A. Cohen was appointed assignee, with instructions to take charge of all the property.

The popular excitement was intense throughout the state, the number of losers being great in the interior, as well as in the metropolis. The officers of the law in various towns refused to recognize the receiver, seized the assets within their reach, and distributed them to the resident creditors, paying in many cases not only the principal debt, but considerable sums for legal expenses, arising from attachment suits. In one town the bank was broken open by a mob and the money and dust in the vault were paid out by a committee of citizens to persons producing certificates of deposit, or claims backed by writs of attachment. It was soon evident that neither the banking nor express business could ever be revived. Much of the property had been taken illegally, but the costs of recovering it would far exceed its value.

On the night of his appointment as receiver, Mr. Cohen, acting with the advice of his counsel, moved the cash in the vault, for fear of a mob, from the house of Adams & Co. to that of Alsop & Co., bankers. The receivership having been declared illegal, under the state insolvent law, the creditors held a meeting and elected A. A. Cohen, Richard Roman, formerly state treasurer, and Jones, of the firm of Palmer, Cook & Co., assignees, and by them the assets were transferred from the house of Alsop & Co. to that of Palmer, Cook & Co. Cohen, having obtained permission to leave the state for three months, went to New York, and while there, Naglee, who had been appointed receiver, demanded from Roman and Jones the possession of the assets; but in the meantime garnishments had been served by creditors on Palmer, Cook & Co., and the assignees pleaded inability to get the funds from the bank. The same demand was made on Cohen, as one of the assignees, when he returned, and he responded with the same plea. In a suit by Naglee against Cohen, before Judge Hager, judgment was rendered for two hundred and sixty-nine thousand dollars, and he was imprisoned for contempt when he did not pay. Meantime, the vigilance committee broke out; Heydenfeldt, one of the three justices of the supreme court, left the state; Terry, another, was imprisoned by the committee; Murray, the third justice, could not hold court alone, and no other tribunal could release Cohen. He was held in durance for six months, but when his case was heard he was released on his plea that it was an impossibility to get the assets from Palmer, Cook & Co.

The law provided that a bank could not be discharged under the insolvent law, and this principle had the corollary that the assets of a bank could not be distributed equitably among the creditors, so the assets of Adams & Co. became the subject of a general scramble by creditors and lawyers, and reams of paper were required to contain the legal records of the proceedings. Most of the creditors got a trifle; some got payment three or five times over; others, after partial collections, sold their certificates to others, who collected again. Men who got hold of property of Adams & Co. bought up claims, employed agents to garnishee them, and otherwise managed to keep what they had. The litigation continued for seven years, and most of the property was eaten up by the litigation, or disposed of so that no judicial decree showed what had become of it. A storm of obloquy for years followed the manager and the first receiver. The poor depositors, who would have got most of the money in the bank if the doors had not closed for the purpose of giving the money to a receiver, obtained nothing, and they and the press generally denounced the proceedings as a deliberate fraud, but the accusation was never made the subject of trial in a criminal suit.

SEC. 111. *Panama Railroad.* The first railroad train crossed the isthmus of Panama, from ocean to ocean, on the twenty-third of January. Work had been commenced in 1850 with the expectation that the road would be finished within a year or two, at a cost of not more than one million and a half dollars. It was only forty-eight miles long; its highest elevation was three hundred feet above the sea; for a considerable distance it ran over ground nearly level; it had neither long tunnels, deep rock cuttings, nor any great river to cross; and the right of way cost little. It had none of the difficulties that make railroads exceptionally expensive in the United States. Its projectors thought they had an immense fortune in their hands, but they soon found unexpected obstacles. The ignorance and indolence of the natives, and the fearful mortality of the imported laborers were beyond all calculation. Graders died by thousands. The number of victims was never reported, and was studiously concealed. The line at the eastern end ran for eight miles through a swamp which smote nearly all who worked in it with pestilence. While the laborers were struck down with fever on the road, the New York capitalists who had undertaken the enterprise were borne down by the fearful expense. The millionaires, Howland and Aspinwall, were induced to take hold of the enterprise, and even they were in danger. At last, however, by the help of Senator Gwin, having obtained a mail contract which assured a large revenue, and improved credit to them, they were enabled to see the work finished, after seven and a half millions of dollars had been spent upon it. The discomfort of riding thirty miles on a mule, and traveling thirty-five miles in a canoe under charge of rude and nearly nude negroes, and the danger of catching the virulent Panama fever, by sleeping on the ground, were thus obviated, and the voyage between New York and San Francisco became relatively a pleasant trip, as well as cheaper than before. Travelers, especially those with large trunks, not unfrequently had to pay seventy-five dollars to get from Chagres to Panama by boat and mule.

After the construction of the road, the number of lady immigrants to California rapidly increased, and so did the Californians of both sexes returning to the east for short trips, to see their relatives and visit their old homes. These travelers demanded cabin passages, with luxurious accommodations—they did not go in the steerage, as in earlier years—and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which had previously built boats larger, more commodious, more elegant, and higher above the water than any used or that could with any reasonable degree of safety be used on the stormy Atlantic, ordered other boats still larger and more elegant — veritable ocean palaces. Though the road and the Pacific mail steamers were owned in New York, California supplied the motives and the money for building them, and they were relatively of more importance to San Francisco than to any other city.

SEC. 112. *Gambling.* Gambling was a prominent feature of San Francisco life before 1855. It had been permitted under the Mexican dominion, had not been punished under the military government that came with the conquest, and was made a source of revenue by the *ayuntamiento* in August, 1849. This legalization coinciding with the great influx of immigrants by sea and land, and a large increase in the gold yield, raised gambling to be one of the most prominent branches of business in the city. The gamblers had the best buildings in the busiest streets, paid the largest rents, and had the most customers.

Their halls on a level with the street were crowded with people from dark till late in the night. Everything was done to make these halls attractive. They were brilliantly lighted, fine orchestras or companies of vocalists furnished music, and elegant pictures adorned the walls. On one side was a bar where liquor could be had, but the main business was done at the green tables rented to gamblers. And there they sat with their gambling implements so long as there was business or hope for it. There was usually no lack of it, for these gambling saloons were the general resort in the evening, and there could be found officials, lawyers, merchants, mechanics and hod-carriers. The professional gamblers were chiefly Americans, French and Mexicans. The first class had the faro tables, with the last monte was the favorite, and the Frenchman preferred rouge-et-noir and roulette. The games were such that there was no limit to the number of participants, and that nobody but the dealers should handle the cards or other implements. Chairs were placed round the table, and outside of the persons occupying seats stood several lines of men, interested either in betting or in watching the bets of others. Not unfrequently the dealer had an assistant, sometimes a woman of prepossessing appearance elegantly dressed, seated on the opposite side of the table, to collect the winnings and pay the losses. The dealer usually called out before dealing "make your bets, gentlemen;" after a few minutes he added, "the game is made; all down, no more." Then he dealt, gathered in, paid out, and went on as before. In front of the dealer was piled up a stack of gold and silver coin. Mexican doubloons or ounces and Mexican dollars were in 1849 the bulk of the money; later the slug or fifty dollar pieces and the American half dollars occupied a large place. Not unfrequently nuggets or purses of dust were thrown upon the table, and if the owner won he stated the weight, and the gambler examined the article for a moment, and if he thought the statement correct, or nearly so, he paid over its value in coin, sometimes sacrificing something to avoid delay or prevent complaints.

Among the notable gambling houses were the El Dorado, on the south-east corner of Kearny and Washington, the Verandah on the opposite side of Washington, the Bella Union, on the other corner, the California Exchange, on the north-eastern corner of Clay and Kearny, the Arcade, the Casino, and the Polka on Clay and Commercial streets.

At one time a dozen large houses were occupied, and each had from five to fifteen tables, with nearly a hundred tables in all, and the coin displayed was sometimes more than ten thousand dollars to a table, the attraction increasing with the amount exhibited. An adventurer would frequently pass a table with a small stock of money, saying there was not so much as he would win if the luck turned in his favor.

SEC. 113. *Walker in Nicaragua.* Walker's thirst for filibuster glory was not satisfied by his campaign in Lower California. His reputation for courage, and his ability to command the services of men worthy of such a leader, brought an invitation to him from the defeated rebels in Nicaragua. That country had been devastated by a civil war between two hostile races, the Spaniards on one side, and the Indians on the other, the former having their chief strength in the city of Grenada, the latter at Leon. The Grenadinos having triumphed, the Leoneses, willing to sacrifice their country rather than submit to enemies of their own nationality, appealed to Walker. The opportunity of obtaining power in any portion of Spanish-America was welcome to him, so he collected sixty desperate followers, left San Francisco, landed in Nicaragua, and with the help of the Leoneses soon scattered the Grenadino troops and reached a position in which, with prudence and patience, he could have become the virtual ruler of all Central America. But prudence and patience were not among his qualities. He did not know how to pacify the hostile, nor even to confirm the friendly in their favorable dispositions. He would neither regard rights nor conciliate prejudices, if he thought he could attain his end by overriding them, and he greatly overestimated his own capacity. Thus it was that soon after conquering the Spanish party, and while the Indians were willing to concede to him the substance, though for their own safety they could not surrender the show of power, he defied them, assumed dictatorial power, and treated disobedience to his orders as treason, to be punished with death. Not content with offending the people by turning upon his benefactors and excluding the natives of the country from the highest offices, he undertook to change its institutions, and abrogate the laws prohibiting slavery.

Vanderbilt controlled the Nicaragua steamer line connecting New York with San Francisco, and though he carried recruits and supplies to Walker gratuitously or cheaply, he did not comply with all the demands of the arch-filibuster who then ordered a sale of the transit franchise across Nicaragua; and C. K. Garrison, who had been Vanderbilt's agent, became the purchaser. The Leoneses and Grenadinos were now united against him, and Colonel Cauty, an Englishman, another agent of Vanderbilt, managed, at the head of a Costa Rica army, to sieze the steamer on the lake, thus broke up the transit business, and deprived Walker of a large part of the revenue and of the hope of re-enforcements.

Through nearly two years of bloodshed and confusion Walker ruled like a stolid madman, till he was compelled by native victories to escape by surrendering himself to United States officers, who took him back to their country, whence he returned after six months, but was captured by an American naval vessel and taken again to New Orleans. He ventured to Central America once more as a filibuster, and landed in Honduras where he was shot in September, 1860.

SEC. 114. *1856.* The general business depression which began two years before continued through 1856.

The general conviction rising in the public mind, that the state had wonderful agricultural and horticultural resources, the great areas of unoccupied federal land, the final settlement of the titles of many of the large Mexican grants, and the high wages, led to a demand for immigration, and meetings were held to devise means for constructing a good wagon road over the Sierra Nevada, thus removing one of the chief obstacles to the journey overland. Several years later the road was completed from Placerville to Genoa in time to render great service to the development of the Comstock lode. The merchants had, in 1854, reduced the current value of francs from twenty-five to twenty cents; in 1855 they refused to accept the octagonal fifty dollar piece or slugs, coined by Moffatt & Co., and in the year of 1856 they rejected the eagles, double eagles and half eagles of private coinage, thus restricting themselves to gold and silver from the American mints. Although under ordinary circumstances the coinage of money without government authority is treated as a crime, yet the demands of business in California were so imperious that millions of dollars, not in imitation of the mint stamps, however, were coined without secrecy by citizens in San Francisco, circulated with the favor of leading business men and accepted by everybody at par. The material was gold, usually mixed with about twelve per cent. of silver, and without copper; and as each piece contained as much gold as one of an equal denomination issued by the government, and had the silver besides, it would sell for more in the European market.

Something of the improvement in the city administration observable after this year, is to be credited to the adoption of the consolidation act, or new city charter, which created the county of San Mateo out of what had previously been the southern part of the county of San Francisco, and organized the city and county of San Francisco as it now exists. There had formerly been a county government and a city government, making much unnecessary expense, and giving many opportunities for political fraud. The average annual expenditure of the city government for seven years from 1849 to 1856 was two million dollars; and for the next seven years only six hundred and fifty thousand dollars, justifying the inference that one million three hundred and fifty thousand dollars had been wasted or stolen every year before the time of the vigilance committee.

SEC. 115. *Political Corruption.* The American political system had in 1855 reached a greater depth of corruption in San Francisco than in any other part of the United States. The people were new-comers, not long acquainted with their leading men, and their officials were selected at random. The profits of mercantile business and mechanical labor far exceeded the salaries of most of the government offices, which, besides, were as a class beyond the reach of men who would not bribe conventions and descend to low associations. The sudden and complete formation of the American government of California was not more wonderful than was the organization of the spoils system of party management in San Francisco, under the lead of men who had received the highest education in political corruption before they left New York, which city furnished about one sixth of the population of the Californian metropolis, including a majority of those who controlled the dominant faction of the dominant party. All the arts founded or perfected by Tammany Hall or the Albany Regency for defrauding the people out of a fair choice in the nomination of candidates or the election of officials were practised by master hands in San Francisco. Party conventions, as expressions of public opinion, became a farce. The vilest ruffians were publicly employed by prominent politicians with instructions that they must carry such and such wards. When election day approached, associations were publicly formed for the purpose of selling their votes to the highest bidders. Gangs of men marched or went in wagons from one precinct to another, voting in every ward. There were several voting places where the ballot box was in charge of men ready to take out the genuine ballots, in case of need, and substitute others; and some of the boxes had false sides, in which the fraudulent tickets were hidden in advance.

Most of the policemen were appointed to reward partisan service, and were grossly inefficient and corrupt. They could be trusted for untiring labor in elections, but little was to be expected from them in the matter of arresting criminals who had money or influence. Some of the judges were honest, but the laws were full of technicalities for the benefit of the guilty, and the executive officers whose duty it was to collect evidence against criminals neglected their duty. In fact, some of the boldest and most dangerous criminals in California were themselves officials. A thousand homicides had been committed in the city between 1849 and 1856; and there had been only seven executions. The crimes upon the ballot-box, the corruptions of the public service, the prominence of notorious ruffians and their patrons in city offices, the forgeries of Meiggs, and the failure of the courts to administer criminal justice promptly, or to clearly fix the blame for the failure of Adams & Co., upon some individual, had tried the patience and provoked the indignation of the people, until there was a general desperation. The opinion prevailed that it was impossible to correct these political crimes in accordance with law; the only remedy was to be reached by a disregard of the law.

SEC. 116. *Murder of King.* While popular feeling was thus excited, at least among the more respectable classes of society, the "Bulletin" made its appearance and devoted its bitter energies to the denunciation of the crimes and criminals that had given most offense. Many of its attacks upon individuals were not sustained by any proof, or even plausible testimony, and others were unjust and even inexcusable; but these mistakes were overlooked by the people generally for the sake of the good motives attributed to Mr. King, the editor; and he was regarded, if not by the majority, at least by a considerable portion of the community, as the man who should lead to a purification in the management of public business. No editor had before or has since in California reached so exalted a position as a hero in popular estimation.

Such were the circumstances when on Tuesday, May 14, 1856, he mentioned in his journal the fact that James P. Casey (who recently, while inspector of election in the Twelfth ward, at a time when he was not known as a candidate for office, had stuffed tickets with his own name on them as a supervisor into the ballot-box and then declared himself elected,) was a graduate of the New York state prison at Sing Sing. This statement was true; but Casey, who, though he had committed many breaches of the peace at San Francisco without subjecting himself to any punishment, thought he could safely wash out the exposure of his convict character with blood. The "Bulletin" containing the offensive article was published about three P. M., and two hours later, King on his way home was stopped at the corner of Montgomery and Washington streets by Casey, who when about fifteen steps distant, called out to him "Draw and defend yourself;" and a second later, before King could draw his pistol, fired. The bullet struck him in the left breast, passed through his lung, and came out under his shoulder blade. He staggered into an office near by, and sank helpless. The wound was evidently dangerous, and whether it was to be fatal or not, there was no doubt of Casey's murderous intent.

The news that the popular editor had been shot spread through the city in half an hour, and at six o'clock the sheriff was afraid that the angry multitude collected around the jail, to which Casey had been hurried for safety by his friends, would take him out by force. The mayor vainly harangued them in favor of law and order. They hooted him, and remained there till a late hour of the night waiting for a leader, but none came.

SEC. 117. *Vigilance Committee of 1856.* The enemies of the prevalent political corruption, including many who had no special admiration for Mr. King, saw the opportunity in the popular excitement, to correct some of the abuses of the government. The recollection of the vigilance committee of 1851 was still fresh in the minds of many who had participated in it, and its reputation was good with those who had come to the city since. Its method of procedure was a precedent; its members were solicited to become the leaders in a new organization. All the men of the city were in the street that evening, and there was a general demand for a vigilance committee.

About nine o'clock notice was circulated that a meeting would be held in Cunningham's warehouse on Battery street, near Union, for the purpose of forming a committee. After several hundred persons had collected an attempt was made to organize, but some of the most active persons were looked upon with suspicion, and there was no cordial support of any proposal. Many of those present moved off into another room and they, too, failed to agree upon and plan of action. Other later efforts had similar abortive results, and finally they separated without doing anything.

The next morning notice was published that there would be a meeting at a house on Sacramento street, below Battery. The place had been occupied for a Know-nothing lodge, was spacious and had double doors with wickets, well fitted for holding secret meetings. Door-keepers excluded all who were not vouched for by the few who engaged the hall, and these few were mostly ex-members of the committee of 1851. So soon as the people learned the character of the movement there was a great rush for admission, but much caution was used and they got in slowly. Some of the prominent business men made a little gathering and discussed the method of organization. Suggestions that an oath should be taken, that every member should sign his name, and that he should be known by the number in the order of his signature were favorably received. A book was obtained, an oath written in it, and a clerk placed in charge of the record. There had been an executive committee five years before, and W. T. Coleman, one of its active members, a ready talker, a good worker, and a popular man, was urged to become one of the new executive committee. Finding that his excuses were not accepted, and that his efforts to put others before him were overruled, he yielded, and then asked a dozen or more of the merchants near him, one by one, whether they would serve with him. They said "yes," and thus was formed the nucleus of the executive committee. Afterwards they elected about a score of others, some of them being chosen to represent certain nationalities and occupations, so as to command the support and confidence of the people generally. The executive committee had full control, originated every order, and decided every question. The members were not chosen by the body which they governed; their names were not submitted to it for approval. The power appeared to be thrust into their hands, and after the start had been made neither they nor the multitude objected, though if the duration of the work, and the expense, which far exceeded expectation, could have been foreseen, the organization would doubtless have been made in a different manner. Some of the executive committee were indiscreet, and others inefficient, but the result proved that it had a large preponderance of prudence and administrative capacity. Isaac Bluxome, who had been secretary of the executive committee in the first organization, had the same position in the second. In many ways the experience of 1851 was made available in 1856.

SEC. 118. *Swift Organization.* So many members were received on the first day that no room in the building on Sacramento street could hold those who wanted to stay there, and the place of assemblage was transferred to the large hall of the Turn-verein building on Bush street near Powell. This place was filling up in the evening when the president of the executive committee gave notice that all the members numbered from one to one hundred inclusive would form a military company, and should meet in a designated corner of the hall and elect their officers, subject to approval by the executive committee; while those numbered from one hundred and one to two hundred should meet in another corner and form another company, and so on. The French, however, who were numerous, and were scattered irregularly, as to their numbers, among the others, and were ordered to organize separate companies, because few of them could speak English.

This distribution of the members into military companies gave occupation to all, as the arming and drilling began immediately; and partially relieved the executive committee from questions and advice. The executive committee distributed its work among sub-committees. Great zeal was shown by the officials generally, and with marvelous rapidity three thousand men were armed, drilled and established in armories, while arrangements were made at the same time for covering a large expense, and meeting many contingencies of political or other character. Several of the militia companies in the city disbanded because they were unwilling to be called into service against the committee, which they then joined, taking their muskets with them; and arms were obtained from various sources, so that there was soon a good supply. On the second day several companies under arms were stationed in the streets near headquarters to prevent any interruption of the proceedings. There was a general suspension of business, so that citizens could attend to what they considered the most pressing duty. They devoted themselves to it, and in three days had got into good working order.

SEC. 119. *Execution of Casey and Cora.* The first meeting had been held on Wednesday, and on Saturday the executive committee instructed a sub-committee to make arrangements for taking Casey from the jail the next day. Twenty-four companies were called to assemble at nine o'clock on Sunday morning at their respective armories in different parts of the city; and then further orders were delivered to each captain to march to a certain position on Broadway, near Dupont. No information had been given to the public, nor to the captains, beyond the brief note sent to each, but it was well understood that when the vigilance committee moved something serious was to be expected. The streets bristled with bayonets; military companies marched without music, noise or confusion to their designated stations; and citizens, not members of the organization, filled the streets and covered the hills near the jail to watch the proceedings. An artillery company with a brass cannon halted in front of the jail and turned the gun upon it. When all the military arrangements had been made, two vigilance officials went to the door and informed Sheriff Scannell that they had come to take Mr. Casey. They were told that no resistance would be made. Casey begged permission to speak ten minutes before he should be hanged, his expectation being evidently that he would be executed without delay. He was assured that he should have a fair and deliberate trial, with a right to be heard in his defense. He submitted then with a good grace, was led out, placed in a carriage, and driven under strong guard to the vigilance headquarters, where he was securely immured. Charles Cora, who had murdered United States Marshal Richardson, and had been tried once, with a disagreement of the jury, was also taken from the jail to the same place. On Monday King died, and on Tuesday the executive committee, acting as a jury, tried Casey. No person was present at the trial save the accused, members of the vigilance committee and witnesses. The testimony was given under oath though there was no lawful authority for its administration. Hearsay testimony was excluded; the general rules of evidence observed in the courts were adopted; the accused heard all the witnesses, cross-examined those against him, summoned such as he wanted in his favor, had an attorney to assist him, and was permitted to make an argument by himself or his attorney in his own defense. Both Casey and Cora were convicted.

On Wednesday, King was buried with a grand and solemn funeral, the whole city being draped in mourning; and while the procession was on the way to the cemetery, and in sight of it, Casey and Cora were hanged in front of the vigilance headquarters. Both claiming to be Catholics, were shrived by priests of their faith before execution, and their corpses were buried by their respective friends with much display. Casey at the time of his death was foreman of a volunteer fire company, which erected a monument over him in the graveyard of the old Mission church, with an inscription, "The Lord have mercy on my persecutors." The public woman who had supported Cora during the latter year of his life, and had been married to him in prison, provided a monument for him.

Before the execution of the two criminals, the sentences were submitted to and approved by the board of delegates, consisting of three members from each company, one of the delegates being usually its captain. This board was designed to prevent the adoption by the executive committee of any measure that would not give satisfaction to the majority of the members, and to exclude the suspicion of an intention to make a dangerous use of power.

SEC. 120. *Ballot-box Stuffers.* Having got rid of Casey, whose execution required urgency, the executive committee settled down into regular business. They established a kitchen in their building, required half a dozen or more of their members to be present at all hours, and went to work to correct political abuses. They arrested half a dozen persons on charges of ballot-box stuffing, and among these was James Sullivan, a native of Ireland, a prize-fighter, a convicted felon, a refugee from New South Wales, to which colony he had been transported, and a ballot-box stuffer, in which last capacity he had helped

Casey to the place of supervisor. Demoralized by fright, he confessed his crimes and the promise that, as he was not guilty of murder, he would not be hanged, did not suffice to give him confidence. He committed suicide by cutting an artery in his arm with a table knife. It was the impression of those who observed him for several days before his death, that the unwonted deprivation of distilled liquor which he had used largely every day for years, produced a disease in some respects similar to delirium tremens.

The executive committee were careful to take no evidence except that which would be received in the courts, and to execute no prisoner unless he had committed a crime punishable with death under the law of California. What should be done with the criminals guilty of ballot-box stuffing and frauds upon the public treasury? They could not be consigned to the government prisons nor compelled to pay fines; and these were the usual punishments. No penalty seemed so convenient as banishment; about a score were taken to vessels bound for foreign ports, most of them to the Panama steamers, when about to leave the wharf, put on board, told that they would be hanged if they should come back, and sent away. One of the exiles returned while the committee was still in existence; but instead of executing him the committee explained that he would be spared because, on account of his nervous condition, his sentence with the penalty of death for return was not read to him.

The vigilance organization did not interfere in any way with the ordinary business of the courts and the police. The district courts sat every day to try suits involving rights of property, and the criminal courts sentenced offenders for theft, assault and drunkenness as in ordinary times. The city was far more orderly than ever before or since. The professional criminals, as a class, fled in terror. They would rather work for a living than face the danger of prompt and severe justice. Everybody was on his good behavior.

SEC. 121. *Law and Order Party.* Meantime the state authorities were not idle. The governor selected W. T. Sherman (who had before been in the federal army, and is now its highest general) to command the militia in the district of San Francisco, and put down the committee by force. Sherman entered upon the duties of his position with zeal, but found himself confronted by many difficulties. The committee, supported by a strong public opinion and liberal money contributions, had obtained nearly all the arms in the city. The law and order party were divided among themselves and almost without funds. A public meeting held by the law and order party to organize opposition to the committee was a failure. The governor applied to General Wool of the United States army for aid with the federal troops, and was denied. Some of the responsibility for this action was attributed to Dr. Gwin, who, according to report, was pleased to see the manner in which Broderick's political friends were treated. Certainly Gwin did not distinguish himself by hostility to the committee; nor would it have been politic for him or his party to do so on the eve of a presidential election. Sherman, finding that he could not procure arms, and that his views did not agree with those of Governor Johnson, resigned. Volney E. Howard was appointed to succeed him, but did nothing of note.

SEC. 122. *Arrest of Terry.* The next step of Governor Johnson was to request President Pierce to order the military and naval forces of the United States to attack the committee; and he reported that the committee was hostile to the federal authority, and meant secession. This assertion commanded no credit, and injured the influence of Governor Johnson. His application was denied.

On the twenty-first of June, S. A. Hopkins, a vigilance sergeant, with two soldiers, was ordered to arrest Reuben Maloney, who was wanted as a witness to testify in reference to some state arms which had been shipped in his custody for the state troops from Sacramento to San Francisco on a schooner which J. L. Durkee, under order from the committee, had seized at the strait between San Pablo and San Francisco bays. Maloney was in a room with D. S. Terry, chief justice of the supreme court of the state, and a friend, and they said Maloney should not be arrested in their presence. The sergeant went off, soon returning with reinforcements, met Malony and his companions going to the state armory, and undertook to make the arrest there. Resistance was offered, and Hopkins having seized Terry's gun, the latter stabbed him in the neck, inflicting a wound which it was supposed would prove fatal, though fortunately it soon healed. Terry was held a close prisoner for seven weeks, went through a long trial, and was at last released, because Hopkins recovered.

The discharge of Terry gave great offense to many vigilantes, as the members of the committee were called, and the complaints were so loud, that the executive committee called a meeting of the general committee, the first time the latter body had been brought together, and explained the motives of their conduct. It was approved, partly because it could not be undone. There were many hot heads who did not understand the serious dangers to which the movement and its leaders had been exposed on account of Terry. If he had been executed for defending a citizen against arrest by an organization established to defy the law, the state authorities would have made renewed efforts to punish the offenders, and the federal administration would probably have interfered. While Terry was in prison, the legislature of Texas, where he had formerly resided, addressed a memorial to Congress, praying for action to protect him. Soon after his arrest application was made to Judge McAllister, of the United States circuit court, for a writ of *habeas corpus*, but the old gentleman did not wish to provoke the animosity of the people among whom he made his home and he refused, thus committing a glaring violation of his official duty. The committee would probably have made no resistance, for they did not want to come into conflict with the federal authority, and they considered themselves extremely fortunate when the judge would not issue the writ. Before the arrest of Terry a writ of *habeas corpus* issued by one of the justices of the state supreme court, was treated with a show of respect, though the prisoner was not surrendered. He was taken from the vigilance building secretly and concealed elsewhere, and when the officer came with the writ he was politely conducted through all the rooms and assured by the persons in charge that nobody was deprived of his liberty by them. The committee felt safe in evading the order of a state court which was not supported by popular opinion, but to defy the federal government would have been a far more serious matter.

The general dissatisfaction among the members of the committee, with the discharge of Terry, was partly due to the prevalence of a rumor that he had boasted before going to the city that he would sweep the vigilantes into the bay; and although his encounter with Hopkins had not occurred under circumstances that permitted him to exercise his judicial authority, he had shown that he was not afraid to assume responsibility, or to defy the most serious danger. His release was regarded by some persons as giving power to the most formidable enemy of the reform movement. Terry's interference prolonged the existence of the organization. The executive committee had nearly finished all the work that appeared urgent to them, and they would probably have adopted a resolution for disbanding six weeks earlier than they did.

SEC. 123. *McGowan.* The main object of the executive committee was from the first, in the opinion of some members at least, to secure political justice; the administration of criminal justice was regarded as of secondary importance, and of value mainly in so far as it could be made serviceable to the more important purpose. Political swindlers, under the pretense of managing the city government, had robbed the property owners of millions upon millions, and the duty now most pressing was to deprive them of their power. But for this object, the committee would, perhaps, have dissolved within a couple of weeks after the execution of Casey. Several ballot-box stuffers (base and ignorant tools of cunning tricksters who devised the political frauds, and took their chief honors and profits,) confessed their crimes upon the ballot-box, and conveyed the idea that they had been guided by Edward McGowan, who, having been accused of being an accomplice of Casey in the murder of King, had absconded. The committee made extraordinary efforts to get McGowan, gave him a close chase, and many narrow escapes, and sent parties after him by land and sea as far as Santa Barbara, but failed to catch him.

SEC. 124. *Hetherington and Brace.* On the twenty-ninth of July, two months after the execution of Casey and Cora, two other murderers, Joseph Hetherington and Philander Brace were hanged. The crime of the latter had been committed two years before, and he had been tried by a criminal court, and acquitted in defiance of reason. These four executions were the only ones ordered by the vigilance committee of 1856. In every case the prisoner was, in the general opinion of the community, undoubtedly guilty of a capital crime, was kept several days in custody by the committee before execution, so as to avoid all danger from hasty action, was tried deliberately, and was executed by daylight, publicly, and in the presence of a multitude of quiet people; the entire proceeding being as orderly, solemn, and respectful to the feelings of the criminals and their friends as if the execution had been conducted by a sheriff under the order of a high constitutional court.

SEC. 125. *Disbandment.* The executive committee were now anxious to close their labors, which demanded much of their time, endangered their property and lives (for their executions, though justifiable morally, were murders in the eye of the law), exposed them to animosities that injured them in business and discommoded them in their social relations, and subjected them to a severe pecuniary tax. The expense of the committee, amounting for part of the time to five hundred dollars a day, had to be paid by subscription of the members and sympathizers. The burdens, dangers and inconveniencies were willingly borne while the committee had an abundance of important work to do, but after they had been in session two months and a half they came to the conclusion that a longer maintenance of the organization would be of doubtful benefit. There was no prospect of getting any new light on the political frauds; it would not do to hang offenders on general principles (that is, without legal proof of capital crimes), though there was no lack of hot heads in the general committee demanding such a course; and it would be folly to maintain the organization for the purpose of punishing the ordinary murders that might be committed in the future.

Under the influence of such considerations, the executive committee, with the approval of the board of delegates, adopted a resolution to disband the forces. On the eighteenth of August the city took a general holiday to witness the celebration of the disbanding of the vigilance committee, and thousands came from interior towns to see the men who had defied the law in the interest of justice and honesty for three months. The streets were bright with flags and flowers; the sidewalks were lined with ladies in brilliant dresses along the line adopted by the procession, or rather the army, which contained five thousand one hundred and thirty-seven men, including three artillery companies with eighteen pieces of cannon, twenty-nine members of the executive committee, two hundred and ninety dragoons, forty-nine surgeons and physicians, one hundred and fifty members of the committee of vigilance of 1851, vigilant police, hundreds of citizens on horseback, thirty-three companies of the vigilant infantry, and numerous military bands. The troops were reviewed, and a farewell address was published by the executive committee, congratulating the general committee and the community on the valuable service rendered, and promising that the organization should be revived, if it were necessary, to protect its members against violence or malicious prosecution on account of the action of the committee, or to guard the purity of the ballot-box. It was never formally dissolved.

SEC. 126. *Work of the Committee.* This was the end of the active work of the committee. There never was any necessity or demand for the resumption of its activity. Durkee was tried on a charge of piracy, for taking state arms consigned to the law and order forces from the schooner "Julia" in the bay, but was acquitted. Several suits for damages were commenced by the exiles, but in most cases the plaintiffs did not recover enough to pay expenses. Though the committee was practically dissolved, its influence lived; its members and sympathizers, having the confidence and favor of the people, obtained control of the city government, held it for nearly twenty years, and established and maintained the best and most economical city government in the United States—the municipal administration where the spoils system had less power than anywhere else under American dominion.

After the dissolution, many good citizens who had been opposed to the committe, partly because they feared that it would lead to great riots and reckless violence, expressed their satisfaction and surprise at the good results secured, and resumed their former relations of social friendship with the vigilance leaders. Others, however, cherished the bitterness against the committee, and after a lapse of twenty years some indications of it still crop out here and there.

The vigilance committees of San Francisco in 1851 and 1856 were in many important respects unlike any other extra-judicial movement to administer justice. They were not common mobs; they were organized for weeks or months of labor, deliberate in their movements, careful to keep records of their proceedings, strictly attentive to the rules of evidence and the penalties for crime accepted by civilized nations, confident of their power, and of their justification by public opinion, and not afraid of taking the public responsibility of their acts.

Many mobs in Montana, Colorado, Nevada, and other sparsely settled parts of the United States, have assumed or received the name of "vigilance committee" thus made respectable in San Francisco, but not one was governed by similar principles. They have been simple mobs, which collected on the first impulse of popular excitement and executed an offender or several within half a day and then dispersed; or if there was an organization to be maintained more than a day, it was composed of a few members, bound to secrecy, and they seized and executed their prisoners when masked or at night. It would be grossly unjust to judge the San Francisco vigilance committee by the acts of any other organization with a similar name elsewhere. The Fehm-Gericht of Westphalia, and the Santa Hermandad of Spain, though maintained for a longer period as extra-judicial organizations to administer justice, were decidedly inferior in efficiency, and in the precautions to prevent errors arising from haste or secrecy of procedure.

The two San Francisco committees pursued the same system. It was entirely original, the outgrowth of the local circumstances, and the best remedy in the judgment of many good citizens for public evils which had become intolerable. In 1851, as in 1856, quiet men said either they or the scoundrels must leave San Francisco. The main work in the former year was to punish convicts from Australia; in the latter it was to correct the abuses introduced by political tricksters from eastern cities. Each committee executed four men; each banished several scores; both were highly successful and earned an honorable place in history.

SEC. 127. *People's Party.* On the approach of the first city election held after the organization of the vigilance committee, a mass meeting called by some of its members appointed a convention of twenty-one respectable and prominent citizens to nominate candidates for the city offices. This convention selected its nominees from men who had been members of the committee, or sympathizers with it. The general of the vigilance army was selected for sheriff; the marshal of the vigilance police, for chief of the city police. The nominees as a class were far superior in business capacity and moral character to the previous city officials. The ticket included northern and southern men, republicans, democrats, and know-nothings, jews, catholics, and protestants. It deserved and commanded public confidence, and was elected.

The new administration was a marvel of economy. The expenses of the city and county had been two millions six hundred and forty-six thousand dollars in 1855, and in 1857 they were only three hundred and fifty-three thousand dollars. Much of this saving was due to the consolidation act adopted by the legislature in April, 1856; but a large part of it to the new officials. There was no doubt that the spirit of the administration was different from that of any of its predecessors. There was an entire absence of the partisan trickery, low scheming, and disreputable personal association common about the city hall in previous years. The general opinion of the men recognized as persons of influence in the city government demanded zealous devotion to the public interests in all the officials. Something of the reduction of expenditures was secured by cutting off needful supplies. Although there was a considerable increase in the number of school children every year, yet the average attendance in the public schools was four hundred less in 1857 than in 1856; so many children were excluded from the public schools for the purpose of reducing expenditures. In the street department, a great saving was made by stopping the work of grading, sewering and planking. The use of gas in the street lamps was stopped for a time, and when resumed, the quantity burned was smaller than before. These economies caused some inconvenience to the citizens, but they were delighted with the large reduction of taxes; the more so on account of the general depression under which mercantile business and real estate had suffered for several years.

When the time for the election came in 1858, several thousand citizens signed a petition requesting the nominating convention of 1857 to appoint a new convention for the people's party, and it did so. The new organization resolved that none of its own members, and none of the members of the preceding convention should be nominated; that solicitation for a nomination by the candidate in person should be considered an objection; that it was desirable that those officials who had performed their duties in a satisfactory manner should be retained; and that the nominations should be kept as independent as possible of national parties. The ticket was worthy of these prudent rules, and was elected by the people. With some minor changes and slight interruptions, this independent city party had control of the government until 1874, a period of eighteen years.

The method of nomination was always substantially the same. A convention, the list of which had been prepared beforehand by a few persons, was submitted to a public meeting which had been called without notice of its main purpose, the names of the members of this convention submitted in a lump, without time for consideration, without an opportunity to reject or accept each individual by a separate vote, or to decide whether some other person would be preferred, was the foundation of all the subsequent nominations, and was the only people's party nominating convention that was ever submitted to any kind of a popular vote. There were no primary elections, no ward meetings, none of the trickery of professional politicians.

Yet this system of obtaining nominating committees, so different from that customary in American politics, and defiant of the common rule that the nominating conventions must be selected every year at a public meeting or primary election open to every member of the party, was doubtless one of the causes of the success of the people's party. Lacking the element of popular participation, the leading men of the party understood that the nominating convention must be composed of men occupying reputable positions in business and society. They were so composed, and they commanded the confidence of the public, whereas the democratic and republican conventions included many ruffians and men without property or reputable occupation. R. H. Dana, jr., a lawyer and statesman of high ability and strict veracity, having visited California in 1859, when the acts of the committee were fresh in the minds of the people, and its influence over the municipal administration dominant, wrote thus:

> And now the most quiet and well-governed city in the United States. But it has been through its season of heaven-defying crime, violence and blood, from which it was rescued and handed back to soberness, morality and good goverment by that peculiar invention of Anglo-Saxon republican America, the solemn, awe-inspiring vigilance committee of the most grave and responsible citizens, the last resort of the thinking and the good, taken only when vice, fraud and ruffianism have entrenched themselves behind the forms of law, suffrage and ballot.

SEC. 128. *1857.* As compared with the preceding eight years, 1857 in San Francisco was quiet and dull. There was no remarkable mining excitement; no great speculation or panic in business; no great crime against life or property; no revolt of the people against their rulers. The city government, installed by the people's party, was extremely economical. Thieves and murderers stayed away for fear that the vigilance committee might resume power. Business continued to suffer under the depression that began three years before. Broderick having secured a majority of the members of the legislature in the state election of 1856, in January took the prize of the federal senatorship, and then holding the power, gave the other senatorship to Dr. Gwin.

Some adventurers from the city joined Crabb's party, which started on the twenty-first of January, to conquer Sonora, and perished with it. The claim of Santillan for several thousands of acres of land between California street and Mission creek, was confirmed by the United States district court in April, but the decision was not final, and general confidence was felt that it would be finally overthrown. The first savings bank was opened with success from the start, and the first industrial fair of the Mechanics' Institute was held in a building erected for the purpose on the site now occupied by the Lick House. The greater part of the state debt having been declared unconstitutional by the state supreme court, was ratified at the election in September, by the people who thus accepted the legal responsibility for its payment, and did much to strengthen the credit of the state at home and abroad.

The sinking of the "Central America," in September, off the coast of Florida, on her way to New York, with passengers and treasure from California, was one of the notable events of the year. The steamer having sprung a leak in a fearful hurricane, the water rose slowly for thirty-three hours, until she sank. At three o'clock in the afternoon of the second day, when it had become evident that she must go down before the next morning, a brig, which had suffered in the storm, came near and offered to receive the passengers; but as she was not very manageable, or near, the sea was rough, and the only conveyances were three small boats, the transfer went slowly. When night came on all the twenty-six women and twenty-seven children, besides four adult male passengers, had reached the brig, leaving more than five hundred men behind to what appeared almost inevitable death. Though many were armed and nearly all were rough in appearance, they were content that the women and children should be saved first; and if here and there a grumble was heard, it received little encouragement. Never did so many men face death near at hand more quietly or decorously. About eight o'clock in the evening the ill-fated steamer gave a final plunge and disappeared forever, carrying down with her into the vortex of the sea many of her passengers, and leaving others afloat, supported by life-preservers or pieces of wood from the wreck. Of these, more than one hundred were picked up the next day, out of five hundred and eighty-two persons on board, four hundred and nineteen were drowned. A commercial panic caused or greatly intensified in the Atlantic states by the loss of one million five hundred thousand dollars in gold dust with the steamer, was a startling proof of the dependence of the business of the nation on the mines of California.

SEC. 129. *Crabb.* Walker was not the last Californian to undertake a quixotic conquest in Spanish-America. Henry A. Crabb, a resident of Stockton, a prominent man in the whig party of California, a lawyer and public speaker of decided ability, an official of experience and good repute, and an ardent advocate of slavery, was the husband of a lady who had been born in the state of Sonora, and had relatives still living there. It was through the relatives of his wife that he received an invitation from a defeated chieftain in that state to bring an armed force for the purpose of overthrowing Governor Gándara, who had long been master there. He accepted the invitation, collected a force of one hundred men, on the twenty-first of January sailed from San Francisco to San Pedro and thence marched to Sonora, where he was met near the line, attacked, defeated, and compelled to surrender at discretion, after twenty-five of his men had been killed in battle. He and fifty-eight companions were promptly executed. Nearly a hundred men who were on their way to aid him heard of the catastrophe before reaching Sonora. Those natives of that state who had invited him made no attempt to assist him. They expected that he would appear with a much larger force, and said it was useless for them to come out openly in his favor when there was no hope of success. The disasters and tragical deaths of Raousset, Walker and Crabb were serious discouragements to filibustering, and twenty years have now gone by without any new enterprises of that kind.

SEC. 130. *1858.* The most notable feature of 1858, in the history of the city and state, was the Fraser fever, of which more will be said in a subsequent section. An overland mail, connecting San Francisco with St. Louis, by the southern route through Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, was establisheg in September; and though the time from New York was not less than by Panama, yet the mail had the great advantage of being semi-weekly, whereas the steamer mail came only once in a fortnight.

Water was brought into the city in an aqueduct from Lobos creek, and was carried round in carts until pipes could be laid. As they were supplied, the carts upon which the city had previously depended gradually disappeared. At the election in September the slavery extension wing of the democracy elected more than two thirds of the legislature. The document submitted to the courts by Limantour as a grant for about six thousand acres within the limits of the city was proved to be a forgery, and the claim was finally defeated. The privilege of collecting tolls on the Mission and Folsom street plank-roads having expired, the roads became free. The fare on the ferry-boat to Oakland previously fifty cents, was reduced to twenty-five cents; and the construction of the San Bruno turnpike gave a new and nearly level road much of the way along the shore of the bay from the Mission to the plain of San Mateo, offering the first pleasant drive on the peninsula in the vicinity of the city and outside of its limits.

The supreme court was subjected to much ridicule on account of a decision in the case of the negro Archy, brought as a slave to California from Alabama by Mr. Stovall, who supposed the negro would follow and obey him anywhere. Archy used his freedom; the master applied to the supreme court, and P. H. Burnett, the chief justice, rendered his opinion that the applicant was not entitled to the custody of Archy under the law, but as Stovall "was a young man traveling mainly for his health." and the court was "not disposed to rigidly enforce the rule for the first time," therefore he might take Archy; but fair notice was given in the opinion that in all future cases, the court would decide the other way. "The law was given to the north and the nigger to the south." Joseph Baldwin, who succeeded Burnett as chief justice, prepared a syllabus of the decision, inferring that the constitution does not apply to young men traveling for their health; that it does not apply the first time; and that the decisions of the supreme court are not to be taken as precedents. Ludicrous as this decision was when considered from a legal standpoint, and lamentable in its disregard of personal right and public policy, it was written by a man who had previously been the governor of the state, and has since been the president of a bank in San Francisco; and perhaps no man in California has a higher reputation for kindliness and integrity. His blunder is an example of the great wrong that may result from confused logic combined with amiable weakness, if such name could properly be given to a motive in which there was no malice, and more regard for the claims of one class than for the rights of another.

SEC. 131. *Mining Excitements.* Regions containing extensive placer mines are peculiarly subject to sudden migrations of the miners to districts reported to be richer. The more abundant the gold, the more unsettled the population. They who are doing well, instead of being attached by their prosperity to their claims, are the more ready to move because they have money to spare. They will not wait till the value of the new diggings has been conclusively proved, for fear that before such proof can be furnished all or nearly all the best claims have been taken up, and then the discovery would be of no benefit to them. They would abandon a good claim for the chance of getting a better one. Such conduct may appear incomprehensible to men who have never seen a placer mining community, but it was common among the gold hunters of California before 1860. They did not understand the geological laws under which gold was distributed through the gravel beds of living or dead rivers, and they had seen such wonderful deposits of it, and many of them were so ignorant that no rumor of its abundance seemed incredible to them. There were many intelligent and prudent men among them, but these could not prevent the others from being carried away by excitements.

Many of the reported new discoveries which attracted hundreds or even thousands of adventurers from gold diggings, and never paid them for their trouble, were on the slopes of the Sierra Nevada and were reached by the miners without passing through San Francisco, and the influence of the excitement in such case was scarcely felt here.

The first rush that affected the city was that to Gold Bluff on the beach of Humboldt county, in January, 1851. The secretary of a mining company, which had a claim there (and hundreds of others equally good could be taken up), published a statement that according to the representation of persons who had examined the ground, it would yield four hundred and thirty million dollars to each member of the company. On the eleventh of January eight vessels were advertised to sail for Gold Bluff, but before they departed, the exaggerations were exposed, the applicants for passage drew back, and the members of the millionaire company never received a cent of dividend from their claims.

Three years later wonderful stories were published in the Panama journals about rich placers on the head waters of the Amazon in eastern Peru, and one thousand adventurers from California were astonished on landing at Callao to find that nobody there knew anything of such mines. Several parties having come so far, thought they might as well do some prospecting on the eastern slope of the Andes, and after making the journey at great expense and trouble, they found nothing.

In February and March, 1855, a number of letters full of falsehoods, about extensive and rich placers in the basin of Kern river were published in the Stockton and Los Angeles papers, and five thousand persons started for the new Eldorado. Many of them abandoned good claims or profitable employment, and ten thousand more were getting ready to follow very soon, when letters came back that there was not work for more than one hundred men.

SEC. 132. *Fraser Fever.* These rushes were mere trifles, however, as compared with the Fraser fever, which prevailed from April till September, 1858. Gold had been found in the banks and bars of Fraser river in British Columbia, about one hundred miles from the ocean, and some sanguine miners there, supposing that there must be a large and rich placer mining region in the basin of the stream, converted their inferences into assertions in letters which were given to the public. Many thousands of the Californian miners, unwilling to adapt themselves to the relative impoverishment of the diggings of the Sierra Nevada, received with joyous credulity the rumors of great gold fields in what was then known to the law and to the map-makers as "New Caledonia." The first adventurers generally were men who had money enough to go to Fraser river, and return in comfort even if they should find nothing there; and they went as other parties have gone to examine every district reported to have much precious metal within the limits of our continent. Their reports were that there was no doubt of the existence of gold in the bars of the river, and that the stream was much larger than any of the rich Californian rivers, but that the water was too high to permit as yet of profitable work in the bars or in the river bed, or even of any thorough prospecting.

All this was true literally, and did not mean much directly, but most extravagant deductions were drawn from it, then accepted as a proper basis for action, and confirmed by the writers of sensational letters, some of whom may have been paid by the owners of the steamships, which reaped a rich harvest from the excitement. So great was the rush that California seemed in danger of being depopulated. The custom-house records say that between the twentieth of April and the ninth of August, the limits of the Fraser fever, fifteen thousand and eighty-eight passengers left San Francisco in one hundred and twelve vessels for the new Eldorado; but the "Prices Current," a carefully edited commercial journal, said the number of adventurers was twenty-three thousand four hundred and twenty-eight, the reports to the custom-house being greatly below the truth in many cases. In the middle of August only two thousand three hundred persons had returned. The twenty-three thousand five hundred who went to Fraser river were six in a hundred of the entire population of the state, a very large proportion to leave within four months; and they were relatively fifteen times as many as left the Atlantic slope for California in 1849, when the world was astonished at the magnitude of the migration, and when all the business relations of the country were disturbed. Not only did one in sixteen of the men in California start for Fraser river, but one third of the others were preparing to go when the folly of the excitement became clear to the common comprehension. For a time, fears had prevailed that the state would be depopulated, and that San Francisco would be stationary for many years, while Victoria, the chief port of the gold mines of British America, would become the metropolis of the coast. Real estate lost half its market value; lots on Montgomery street, between Bush and Sutter, were offered at two hundred dollars a front foot, and found no takers, though since in demand at eighteen hundred to two thousand dollars; and Blythe's gore, between Market and Geary, for which according to common report an offer of one million and a half dollars was rejected in 1876, was considered dear at thirty thousand dollars.

For several months California appeared to be on the verge of dissolution under the influence of the Fraser river. Some of the mining towns lost half their inhabitants. Placer claims that yielded ten dollars per day, net, to the man, were almost unsalable. Seats in the stages from the mining towns to Sacramento and Stockton were engaged for weeks in advance. Real estate fell in many places eighty per cent. in market value. In San Francisco, through which all the emigrants passed, and to which they paid a large tribute in many ways, there was a ruinous decline. Bankers, lawyers, wholesale merchants and real estate speculators began to make arrangements for transferring their business to Victoria. The confident belief that New Caledonia would produce as much gold, and would be as lively in business as California had been in 1849, was extensive if not general; and to be in the midst of such another storm of gold dust would well be worth the sacrifice of a few thousand dollars. Before the middle of July, the credulous acceptance of the stories about the mineral wealth of the Fraser basin was seriously discredited by the failure to find any extensive diggings; early in August the excitement had become a subject of ridicule; and in September the people wondered how they could ever have believed that there was any reason for an excitement.

It was calculated that the adventurers who went to Fraser river lost nine million dollars in the aggregate, including sixty dollars fare, sixty days time and one hundred dollars for outfit and freight money for each man on an average. The estimate was probably extravagant for the direct loss, but the indirect loss was much greater, especially in the depreciation of property in the mining districts. San Francisco, however, gained far more than she lost. The panic which threatened her with disaster, and for a few months caused many serious losses to individuals, soon reacted, and made busines more active than before. The Fraser fever was really a turning point in the fortunes of the city. The money wasted by the miners had gone into the pockets of San Franciscan owners of steamers, stages, hotels and supplies. Here the adventurers all stopped, purchased outfits and paid passage money to transportation companies. The shipping of the port, which had been decreasing for five years, now began to increase. The report of the excitement attracted many people from the Atlantic states, and the gain of population by sea was thirteen thousand, whereas it had been only five thousand annually, on an average, for the three preceding years. The temporary decline in city lots caused severe loss to individuals, but there was an equal profit for others;

and as the disappointed miners generally declared when they got back, many of them having in the mean time traveled through the basins of the Columbia and Frazer rivers and Puget sound, that they would never leave California again, whatever mines might be discovered at a distance—these were the men who called this "God's country"—there was a heightened feeling of confidence in the permanent prosperity of the state. Before the end of the year, real estate in San Francisco was in more demand than it had been since 1855.

SEC. 133. *1859.* The large increase in the production of wheat and wool, the extensive plantings of fruit trees and vines, the conviction, now taking strong hold of the public mind, that California had wonderful resources for agriculture, especially in its horticultural department, and a growing disposition on the part of many of the people to regard the state as a desirable place for permanent homes, contributed in 1859 to strengthen the era of prosperity that had its beginning in the previous year. The settlement of the titles of many large Mexican ranchos, and the belief that all the large claims to land in the city or its settled districts would be defeated, had favorable influences. Land rose in value, and building again became active. The Hayes tract of one hundred and fifty acres, south of Turk street and west of Larkin, including Hayes Valley, was sold at auction, bringing about one hundred and fifty dollars on an average for lots twenty-five feet in front by one hundred and ten feet deep. Several manufacturing establishments were erected, including a woolen mill and a glass factory. The steam-paddy, which had been idle for six years, resumed work. Foreign coin was thrown out by the banks, thus excluding it from common circulation. The first reports of the discovery of the silver deposits of the Comstock lode were published in the summer, and before the end of the winter, forty tons of the ore, worked at San Francisco, had yielded one hundred thousand dollars net, after paying five hundred dollars per ton for transportation and reduction. The political campaign of the year was very bitter. The people at the polls, by a large majority condemned the conduct of Mr. Broderick as senator, and a few days later he was mortally wounded in a duel.

SEC. 134. *Early Politics.* There had been no organization of political parties in California before its admission into the Union. But most of the citizens had brought with them from the East their old partisan opinions and prejudices, and were ready to unite or divide on party lines whenever opportunity should occur. The two national parties at that time were, in California at least, nearly agreed upon most of the questions which had agitated the country for ten years before, save the extension of slavery; and even in reference to that, the difference was understood rather than explicitly defined. Its most ardent advocates were all democrats; its most active opponents, as a class, were whigs. Because of the prohibition of slavery in her constitution, the admission of California had been resisted by the democrats in Congress, and thus the people of the state were much offended, and driven towards the whig party, whose representatives had been the steadfast friends of the new state, and to whose support she mainly owed her triumph over the slavery men. But the favor which the whig party gained on account of democratic hostility to the admission of California, was more than counterbalanced by the blunders of the whig administration in its treatment of her. Congress, absorbed with slavery and questions incidental to it, neglected the new state, which, on account of rapid growth, needed great attention. President Fillmore recommended the taxation of the mines, and thus irritated her people. The chief federal officials instead of being selected from the old residents, were strangers sent out to take the honors and profits after others had faced the danger and done the work of pioneer life; and these "carpet-bag politicians," as their class was afterwards called, proved themselves in many cases incompetent and corrupt.

Thus it was that in all legislatures and in most of the counties, until the middle of 1854, the democrats had the majority. In 1851 they elected to the governorship John Bigler, a man who had neither the capacity, the education, nor the manners to grace the position. But as a good fellow with the multitude, he was an available candidate. The better democrats were ashamed of him, and especially the southern men, who could not pardon his coarseness, though they could have overlooked the unscrupulous manner in which he abused his official power for the benefit of his political friends. It was necessary that there should be a contention in the party for its control, and it divided into two nearly equal factions; the chivalry, or men from the slave states, in one, and the Tammany, or foreigners and natives of the free states, in the other. The line of separation was not distinctly drawn; that is, there was no authoritative declaration of principles on either side, but a strong antagonism had broken out so early as 1852.

SEC. 135. *Broderick.* Among the pioneer citizens of California who arrived in 1849 was David C. Broderick, then about thirty years old, who, though a native of the national capital, had spent most of his years in New York City, where he had kept an ale house, had been a member of a fire company, had learned that he could manage men, and had acquired such popularity with a considerable proportion of voters that he had been a candidate for congress. His defeat in a district in which his party had fifteen hundred majority, and the public criticisms upon his career and associations, contributed to disgust him with his position in New York, and he was glad when he saw the prospect of commencing life again in California.

He made his home in San Francisco, and again got into politics through the fire department. He was a leader in the organization of the first fire company, but he took care to avoid the mistake of putting himself on a level with all his fellow members. Though his early education had been limited, he had given much time to reading, and not without profit to himself. The reward soon came. He had been in San Francisco but a few months when, with the help of the "boys" who had known him in New York, and his skill in partisan management, he was chosen state senator to represent the city.

Neither lawyer, statesman, nor orator, he attracted little attention in the first session of the legislature, when an entire code of laws had to be enacted. It was observed, however, that he was versed in parliamentary law; he could well explain those matters with which he was familiar; all his knowledge was ready at his tongue's end whenever required, and he had a character that gave him authority, influence, and the promise of political preferment. Governor Burnett having resigned and having been succeeded by John McDougal, when the senate met in 1851 it had to elect a president, who thus became lieutenant-governor. Broderick was chosen for the place.

That legislature had also to elect a senator of the United States, and Broderick wanted the office, but he had not yet enough influence. Other men were far better known and more popular, and among them were Fremont, John B. Weller, who had been a member of congress from Ohio, and others. While he did not succeed in getting the place, he was gratified by the failure of the legislature to agree—a result to which he contributed—and by the postponement of the election to the next year, thus giving him more time. He worked industriously, and not without effect, for though he had not been recognized as a candidate in 1851, in 1852 he gave John B. Weller a hard contest in the democratic caucus, and the latter did not triumph till the fifth ballot and then by only two majority. The defeat was a great disappointment to Mr. Broderick, but it gave him a high place in the party, and made him the head of its northern faction.

SEC. 136. *Hostility to Slavery.* The first opportunity for Mr. Broderick to show his hostility to the chivalry on a question relating to slavery was when a bill was introduced permitting southern men who had brought negroes as slaves to California before the admission of the state, to take them back by force. Although the majority of his party were for this measure, he opposed it energetically, and when a bill was introduced to provide for the enforcement of labor contracts (the purpose being to encourage the importation of a large number of Chinamen under agreement to work for cheap labor), Broderick denounced it as a substitute for slavery, and contributed to its defeat. Notwithstanding his dislike of slavery, he was not disposed to leave the democratic party, which was the stronghold of the pro-slavery party. When in 1852, the democratic national convention, submitting to the dictation of the fire eaters, adopted the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799 as "one of the main foundations of their political creed," and declared an intention "to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import," thus rejecting President Madison's attempt made during the nullification excitement to show that they did not justify nullification and secession;—when in accordance with the spirit of that platform the Missouri compromise was repealed in 1854, opening all the territories to slavery;—and when in 1856 the national convention re-adopted the resolutions of 1798 and 1799, asserting for every state the right of judging for itself whether the federal constitution had been violated, and what should be the mode and measure of redress, thus pledging the national administration to permit secession;—when all these things were done in the interest of slavery, Mr. Broderick, whose position required him to understand their purposes and tendencies, submitted to them quietly.

At the presidential election of 1852, the state gave a majority of eight thousand, out of a total vote of eighty thousand, to Pierce, and thus the democratic character of California seemed to be well established at the first opportunity of taking part in a national political contest. The result was considered by Mr. Broderick as a promise that he should have the senatorship if he could get the control of the party organization, and he devoted all his energies to that point.

SEC. 137. *Campaign of 1853.* In the democratic state convention held in the spring of 1853 to nominate a governor and state ticket, he proved his power. He was acknowledged by the representatives of the party as their leader, and by his influence John Bigler, notwithstanding the opposition of the southern faction and the protest of San Francisco, where he was especially unpopular, was renominated. The elections returns gave a majority to Bigler, though it was a common opinion, and probably a correct one, that if an honest count had been made, he would have been defeated by not less than five thousand. The men in charge of several of the election precincts in San Francisco were professional ruffians and political swindlers, and if they did not commit frauds upon the ballot-box, it was not because their reputations were too good, or the precautions of the law to prevent abuses too careful and judicious.

Mr. Broderick could look upon the election as a great triumph for himself; the executive officers of the state had been selected by him, the majority of the members of the legislature looked to him as their leader, and he was the chairman of the state democratic committee which had charge of the general business of the party. The circumstances were full of promise for him. He was suspected of being the manager of serious election frauds in San Francisco; he was known to be the employer and protector of the ruffians who had taken charge of the ballot boxes, and he had given some needless offense to various influential southern politicians; but he now stood so high that he could have discarded his base supporters, conciliated the leaders of the adverse faction, and strengthened his influence in many ways.

SEC. 138. *Hammond Denounced.* But such a method of procedure was contrary to his tastes. He could be gentle in his demeanor towards his friends, and he owed much of his ascendency to his manners; but in political tactics it was his rule to completely crush the enemy who fell into his power. He tried the crushing process upon the chivalry men in federal offices, and especially upon R. P. Hammond, collector of customs and a member of the Southern faction, who, disliking Bigler and Broderick, had refused to contribute personally or to assess his subordinates for the campaign funds. In November, 1853, two months after election, Mr. Broderick, as chairman of the state committee, issued a proclamation to the party, congratulating it upon the victory, and complaining that many of those who held federal offices under a democratic administration, and bound by the usages of the country to furnish the sinews of war, had refused to contribute in the late critical contest, and denouncing them as traitors. The following is an extract from this proclamation:

> We made the next appeal to the stipendiaries of the national purse who owed their offices and ingots to the permission of the party in this state. We had a peculiar right to look in that direction for relief. We had responded to the appeal of the first national election in our history by four electoral votes, and we felt entitled to expect that the influence and aid of the general administration would be cheerfully reciprocated by its agents here in fair requital for that profound pledge of our devotion. We invoked the aid, therefore, of those who held appointments under the government at Washington. But, except in a few honorable instances, our hopes were vain.

SEC. 139. *Grab for Senatorship.* Mr. Broderick supposed that this language would be approved by the party generally, and would greatly weaken, if it did not destroy the power of the chivalry leaders; but as they had both the federal senatorships—Weller, though a native of a free state, being in full harmony with them—all of the federal offices, many of the county offices, and the devoted adherence of a large faction, the excommunication was generally regarded as a cause of discord which would seriously endanger the success of the party in the future. It failed to produce the effect upon which Mr. Broderick had calculated, and indeed it reacted and seriously damaged him. He had cherished a plan which he revealed to his friends so soon as the election returns assured him of the preponderance of his faction in the state administration. The democrats had majorities in both houses of the legislature, and most of them were his friends. He proposed that a federal senator should be elected without delay for the term to commence March 4, 1855. Objections that such an election, a year before the time fixed by custom, would be highly unpopular as well as unlawful; that if the legislature meeting in January, 1854, could choose a senator for the term commencing in March, 1855, it could with equal right and propriety elect for the terms commencing in 1857, 1861, 1865, and so on indefinitely, thus robbing future legislatures of their rights; and that the members of this legislature had not been selected with any reference to this question, and therefore could not properly act upon it—all such objections were overruled by Mr. Broderick, who answered that custom was not good authority; that no statutory or constitutional provision fixed the time when the senatorial election should be held; that the party might not have a majority in the next legislature, and that it is the rule of politics to take every prize within reach, leaving nothing to the enemy. A large proportion of the democratic members of the legislature accepted the ungenerous dictation of Mr. Broderick, and labored strenuously to bring on the senatorial election, but a few of the Tammany men refused to sacrifice themselves to gratify an unscrupulous leader, and these, with the southern democrats, whigs, and independents, defeated the scheme. They had one vote more than all those under Mr. Broderick's control.

The struggle to elect Mr. Broderick was not finished in a day, or limited by a single vote, but it absorbed the attention of the legislature for two months, and had many serious accompaniments and consequences. One of the members of the legislature reported that J. C. Palmer, a banker friendly to the senatorial aspirant, had offered to pay him for his vote, and a trial for bribery followed. The evidence was conflicting, and the verdict acquittal; but the custody of certain public funds was taken from the house of Palmer, Cook & Co.—a severe punishment in itself. The angry journalistic disputations about the propriety of then electing a senator, led to a duel between two editors, each prominent on his side; and C. A. Washburn received a troublesome bullet in his shoulder from the rifle of his opponent, B. F. Washington. To prevent a second attempt to seize the senatorship before the proper time, the legislature at its next session passed an act prescribing the manner in which future elections should be held, reserving to the legislature, which should begin its session next before the commencement of the senatorial term, the privilege of making the selection. It was an official and appropriate rebuke of a discreditable plot.

SEC. 140. *Chivalry Triumph.* Complete as had been the control of Mr. Broderick over the majority of the democratic members of the legislature, the party was against him, and when a state convention met, a few months later, his faction was in a woeful minority. Rather than submit to the rule of his enemies, he managed affairs so that the convention divided into two conventions, each claiming to be the fair representative of the organization. The claim was honestly made on the chivalry side. The only officers to be elected by general vote of the state in that year were two congressmen, and there were three tickets in the field. The chivalry democrats obtained thirty-seven thousand votes, the whigs thirty-five thousand, and the Broderickites ten thousand. These figures looked like political destruction to the man who a few months before considered himself master of the state.

But the whirligig of fickle fortune soon turned again in his favor. In the year of 1854 the Missouri compromise, prohibiting slavery in the territories north of latitude 36° 30′, was repealed at the demand of the slavery extensionists, and many of the whig leaders favored the repeal. This was the death-blow of the whig party, on the ruins of which rose the know-nothing party, whose main purposes were to exclude all foreign-born citizens from office, and to discourage immigration.

The slaveholders complained that the rush of immigrants occupied the territories, and thus prevented them from getting any benefit from their half ownership of the southern states in the public lands. Their dislike of foreigners shared by the chivalry faction of the democracy in California, made discord in the combination which had overwhelmed Mr. Broderick. Many of the northern democrats who had voted to punish him for his attempt to grab the unripe senatorship, were galled by the manner of the chivalry leaders towards them, and were unwilling to be used against the interests of free soil. The election of 1854 had elevated Dr. Gwin to the dictatorship of the party. He was a southerner by birth, a politician of much experience, ability and tact, an industrious public servant, a hospitable entertainer, and a gentleman in his manners. His social position, his attractive home, the good character of his most intimate associates, and his refusal, perhaps his inability, to manage primaries, or personally employ ruffians or swindlers for service in conventions and elections, gave him a superiority in the estimation of many genteel people over Broderick. When the latter was overwhelmed by the election of 1854, Gwin was recognized as the master. He was the senior senator, and the head of the dominant faction. Inferior as a political orator, he was much superior as a party manager and influential member of congress to his senatorial colleague, John B. Weller, who made no effort to control the federal patronage. The two representatives in the lower house acknowledged the authority of Gwin, and no important federal appointment was made without his consent.

Now, as on previous occasions, he used his power unwisely. He gave the best offices to ultra southern men. The democrats of northern birth could get nothing, unless they had southern principles and were hostile to Broderick; and even then the inferior men were preferred, and usually got only inferior places. No encouragement was to be given to the northern faction of the party. Under this policy the federal spoils in California were distributed, and the public buildings swarmed with men whose chief qualification for government service were their southern birth and advocacy of the extension of slavery.

S. W. Inge, of Alabama, United States district attorney, and Volney E. Howard, of Texas, law agent of the United States in the land commission, had as members of congress in 1850 voted against the admission of California, because its territory was dedicated to freedom. Mr. Inge was succeeded by Mr. Della

Torre, of South Carolina. The highest federal judicial officer, appointed before Dr. Gwin obtained much power, was Judge Hoffman, a native of New York, who held his place during good behavior; so he could not be removed, but another federal court was placed over him, with Judge McAllister, of Alabama, presiding. The custom-house, the chief field of federal patronage, swarmed with southern men, and several years later was nicknamed "The Virginia Poorhouse," because of the multitude of penniless men belonging to noted families of the old dominion there provided with refuge.

It was partly because of his sacrifice of the party to his southern feelings that Gwin was not re-elected senator by the legislature that began its session in January, 1855. Most of the democrats were devoted to him; but in violation of custom the minority refused to go into caucus, or to be governed by the majority, and the know-nothings and anti-Gwin democrats were strong enough to prevent a choice. It was a triumph for Broderick to prevent his rival from grasping the prize.

SEC. 141. *Know-Nothing Triumph.* When the democratic state convention met in the spring of 1855, to nominate a full ticket of state executive officers, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction among the Irishmen, Germans and northern democrats with Gwin, the chivalry faction still had undoubtedly a large majority of the party; but it had no manager of primaries equal to Broderick; no one so willing to make pecuniary sacrifices for the sake of success; no one for whom personal friends would so freely contribute their money. To the great astonishment of the general public, when the two factions came to vote on the nomination for governor, they were about equally divided, neither having a majority. A squad of delegates from the northern end of the state had the balance of power, and would not decide till its leader had time to consider the situation. He took a walk during a recess of the convention with Mr. Broderick, and at the next vote the chivalry were defeated and Mr. Broderick was again the dictator of the party. This was too much for the chivalry; they had been overreached in the primaries, defeated in the state convention, and rather than submit would defeat the democratic ticket. Circumstances permitted them to do this conveniently. The whig party had disappeared, the republican organization was as yet in embryo, and the native American order a secret society, the nucleus of a national party, had run, like electricity, throughout the Union. The branch of it established in California struck out the hostility to Catholics, and thus deprived it of any sectarian character. The chivalry democrats went into the lodges in swarms, and J. N. Johnson, the know-nothing nominee for governor had a majority of nearly five thousand in a state where the previous year the democrats had a plurality of twelve thousand.

SEC. 142. *H. S. Foote.* Again Broderick had been defeated before the people; again there was to be a senatorial election, and he had no chance. Again he was subjected to the ridicule of his enemies, and the complaint of pretended friends. However, he had the satisfaction of seeing that the know-nothings could not grasp the senatorial prize, of which they considered themselves secure. They had a majority of one, but that one was a man of decided free soil principles, and he refused to vote for the know-nothing nominee, Henry S. Foote, a native of Mississippi, an advocate of slavery extension, who, if rumor were true, had come to California on purpose to be elected senator. Thus it happened that again the senatorial election was defeated; again the state was left without complete representation in the federal senate; again Mr. Broderick could have a chance in a struggle at the primaries for the great prize of his life.

SEC. 143. *Chivalry in Discredit.* He went to work industriously early in the spring of 1856 to get control of the county conventions, so that the legislative candidates throughout the state should be pledged to his service. Circumstances turned strongly in his favor. The policy pursued by the chivalry leaders to defeat him in the previous year now reacted against them with strong effect. The know-nothings had been demoralized by their inability to elect a senator. They saw that they had not the elements for the maintenance of a national party, and letters from their friends in the eastern states said there was little hope for the new organization there. The foreign born voters, with the aid of the large class of Americans who appreciated the immense benefit of immigration to the country, together made up a majority of the votes.

Having withdrawn in 1855 and given serious offense to the Irish and Germans, the chivalry leaders could not regain control of the party in the spring of 1856. As Broderick had been previously the chief enemy of the southern faction, so now, when that faction was overthrown, the power naturally fell into his hands. The prize seemed at last to have come within his reach.

SEC. 144. *Vigilantes against Broderick.* But the kaleidoscope of fate had not yet exhausted its black pictures for him. It took another and a fearful turn in May, 1856. The rise of the vigilance committee was a rebuke to Mr. Broderick. Its main purpose and its most valuable results were to drive from power the tricksters by whose help he held control of the democratic organization in San Francisco. The city officials recently installed had been selected with his approval, and with special regard to the service they could render him. The vigilance committee, while it did not expel them from office, deprived them of influence and disgraced them. The intelligence, the respectability and the weight of the city were with the committee. The adherents of Broderick had captured most of the counties before the vigilance committee broke out; and though that movement brought great discredit upon him in the opinion of the general public, yet it gave him strength among the managers of his party. It was regarded by them and their followers as an act of hostility to the democracy. Some chivalry leaders who disliked Mr. Broderick, by giving their countenance to the committee, excluded themselves from the partisan councils and left the power to his followers. Thus it was that many of the nominations for the legislature—and they form a large part of a senatorial contest in California, as in other states of the Union—belonged to him.

SEC. 145. *Senator at Last.* The popular election was not less favorable. The people were called upon to elect a president in 1856, and they had to choose between the democratic and republican candidates. Know-nothingism had sunk back into insignificance. The people were not ready to accept the republican doctrines; the democrats carried away the offices in California, as well as in some other free states, and their success implied the triumph of Mr. Broderick. There was now no question about his predominance in the party. Two senators were to be chosen, and before election by the legislature, were to be nominated by a caucus of the democratic members. No candidate had an absolute majority, but Broderick was much stronger than Gwin, Latham, or Weller (each had his adherents), and it was conceded that he must be nominated first, and could control the nomination of the other. He lacked three of a majority, and as he said he would prefer Latham to anybody else for his colleague, four Latham men voted for him in the caucus and gave him the nomination, expecting that their man would be nominated immediately afterwards.

SEC. 146. *Sale of Second Senatorship.* This was a reasonable expectation; but when Mr. Broderick had gained his part of the spoils, he interrupted the proceedings. At his dictation, the caucus adjourned to give him time for intrigue. Having obtained the end of his great ambition, he ought to have been satisfied; but now that he had so much, he wanted more. The selection of the higher federal officials in California had been the privilege or perquisite of the senators, and Mr. Broderick wanted it all for himself. As the Tammany faction of the party had a majority in the legislature, custom demanded that it should select another of its members to the other senatorship, but that did not suit Mr. Broderick. The faction, indeed, had few leaders whose election would have done credit to the state. Mr. Broderick's method of requiring complete submission repelled men of ability, who otherwise would willingly have worked with him. Besides, he wanted to impose humiliating conditions upon his colleague, and he could not propose them to any of his friends.

Having been elected on the tenth of January, his first step was to send for Dr. Gwin, who, in compliance with the invitation, went to see him on that night. Of the conversation between these eminent politicians on this occasion we have no record, but we know that Dr. Gwin, having received what he considered satisfactory assurance that he should have

Mr. Broderick's support for the senatorship, addressed to him the following letter, which, though evidently confidential, was afterwards published by the recipient and acknowledged to be correct by the author:

SACRAMENTO, January 10, 1857.

DEAR SIR: I am likely to be the victim of the unparalleled treachery of those who have been placed in power through my aid. The most potential portion of the federal patronage is in the hands of those who, by every principle that should govern men of honor, should be my supporters instead of enemies, and it is being used for my destruction. My participation in the distribution of this patronage has been the source of numberless slanders upon me, that have fastened a prejudice in the public mind against me, and have created enmities that have been destructive of my happiness and peace of mind for years. It has entailed untold evils upon me; and while in the senate, I will not recommend a single individual for appointment to office in this state. Provided I am elected, you shall have the exclusive control of this patronage, so far as I am concerned, and in its distribution I shall only ask that it may be used with magnanimity, and not for the advantage of those who have been our mutual enemies, and unwearied in their exertions to destroy us. This determination is unalterable; and in making this declaration I do not expect you to support me for that reason, or in any way to be governed by it. But as I have been betrayed by those who should have been my friends, I am powerless myself, and dependent on your magnanimity.

W. M. GWIN.

The pretext of disgust with federal patronage on account of the ingratitude of his appointees was perhaps the best excuse for making such a bargain. Many of those who had fawned upon him when he was master of the party, did the same to Mr. Broderick when he became the dictator, and the motive was no worse in one case than in the other. The custom of the spoils doctrine requires that the official appointed by the influence of a patron should be his partisan, under obligations of fidelity to him. The men placed in office by Gwin were guilty of treason when they went over to his enemy.

SEC. 147. *Offer to Sell it Again.* Mr. Broderick, not content with having such a letter from Dr. Gwin, the next evening, January 11, sent for Mr. Latham, and when they met expressed his preference for him as a colleague among all the senatorial aspirants, and offered the senatorship to him if he would promise not to interfere with the federal patronage. Mr. Latham said he had a few friends to whom he was under obligations, and if he were senator he must recommend them for office. When Mr. Broderick learned their names, he said they were men who had not been his enemies, and he would join in the recommendation; and as they were thus agreed, he would like to have a written memorandum of the agreement, signed by Mr. Latham, promising that he would not try to influence the federal patronage in California. Mr. Latham refused to put his name upon any such paper, and Broderick gave him to understand that he could not have the prize.

What would have occurred if the signature had been given cannot now be known. It is evident that Broderick intended to play a trick upon Gwin or Latham, perhaps upon both. J. M. Estell, who was active in the negotiations as Broderick's intimate friend and confidential adviser, said afterwards that if Latham had signed the document demanded, the two letters would have been produced in caucus to ruin the reputation and political influence of both Gwin and Latham. Other friends of Broderick are confident that he meant in good faith to to elect Latham, if they could agree upon the terms.

SEC. 148. *Reception of Gwin's Letter.* On the evening of the twelfth the democratic caucus nominated Dr. Gwin; the next day he was elected; and on the following day a letter addressed by him "to the people" was published. It was similar in its ideas and expressions to his letter of the tenth, acknowledging his indebtedness to Broderick for his election, and declaring that having been betrayed by those whom he had put in office, he should have nothing to do with the federal patronage. A political tempest followed the publication. The federal officers, who were all Gwin men, finding that they had been deserted, complained bitterly of their leader; the friends of Latham and Weller denounced the letter as a sale of the senatorship to the injury of men who were above base bargains; and the independent newspapers cited the transaction as proof of the depth of political corruption. All Dr. Gwin's protests that the renunciation of all claims upon the federal patronage was written without any kind of a bargain, was in harmony with his declarations made freely to his friends before he expected any aid from Mr. Broderick, and was the reasonable results of a most humiliating and vexatious experience, were treated as unworthy of serious consideration, however plausible they might appear if looked at from his side only.

To Broderick's great astonishment the people would not see the letter with his eyes. They blamed the seller of the senatorship more than the buyer. The transaction was held up as disgraceful to the nation, and as injurious to the democratic party; and if grave political considerations had not demanded the silence of the majority in the senate, both Gwin and Broderick would probably have been expelled. Some of Mr. Gwin's fellow-senators who had long been his intimate friends, and who had systematically sought and followed his advice, were disposed, when they first heard of the affair, to turn their backs upon him, but they were assured that he submitted to the humiliation as the best thing that could be done for the party, and they finally accepted the explanation and received him as before, while they reserved their chief indignation for Mr. Broderick.

SEC. 149. *No Patronage to Broderick*. That gentleman was not less astonished with his own chilling reception at Washington than he had been by the reception of Gwin's letter by the public in San Francisco. President Buchanan, a warm personal friend of Mr. Gwin, regarded the exaction of the letter in the first place, and its publication afterwards, as two separate offenses, each discreditable to the government, and especially dangerous to the party at a time when it needed all its strength to meet the republican excitement which was carrying everything before it in the north, and threatening to soon overwhelm the democracy. As Mr. Broderick seemed to stand alone, the president thought he could safely treat him with neglect.

Notwithstanding the coolness in the personal demeanor of the president towards him, Mr. Broderick made out a list of the friends to whom he proposed to distribute the chief federal offices in California, filed the names in the appropriate departments, and mentioned them to the president and members of the cabinet, who took no notice of them. It was a matter of notoriety that Mr. Gwin was in much higher favor personally than his colleague with the administration, and before long it began to appear that his advice was sought and followed in reference to political appointments. The control of the patronage was in the opinion of Mr. Broderick, if not the most valuable attribute of his senatorship, at least essential to its dignity; without it he could not reward his friends, punish his enemies, or maintain his power. The loss of it was a bitter humiliation to him, and a great disappointment to his followers, who accused Gwin of violating his contract. The answer made to this by Gwin's friends was that he had not volunteered advice to the administration; but when solicited for information or his opinion, he had given it, in compliance with his duty. The accusation, if not the defense, implied the existence of a bargain.

SEC. 150. *Insult to Buchanan.* When the question of introducing slavery into Kansas came before the senate, Mr. Broderick took the side against the administration, and he could do that without exposing himself to the charge of treason to the party, for he had the example and protection of Senator Douglas, by many considered the ablest politician of the country, and of excellent standing in the organization. President Buchanan claimed that the laws of the United States carried slavery with them into the territories, and that it could not be excluded until after the state had been admitted into the Union. Douglas argued that the territorial legislature could prohibit it. He called the doctrine "popular sovereignty," a title well designed to catch the favor of the people. So far from sacrificing such popularity as he had in California, Mr. Broderick really added much to it, by adopting that doctrine, and yet by so doing he wounded Mr. Buchanan and the pro-slavery democrats in a most tender point, for every defection from the administration strengthened the frenzy of the great northern party, which was determined that the extension of slavery should stop. It is highly probable that if even if Mr. Broderick had been on the best terms with the administration, he would have adopted Douglas's views upon the legal rights of the slaveholders in the territories, for the slave party in California had long been and were still his bitter enemies; and his sympathies derived from northern associations in favor of freedom were strengthened by the interests of his personal ambition and the animosities of his political quarrels.

His control over a majority of the democrats in the legislature of 1854 had been followed within a few months by the overwhelming triumph of the chivalry, and events took a similar course in 1857. The state convention which met in June, was under the control of his enemies, and so was the legislature chosen in that year, as well as in the next one. The majority of the people were democrats, but they did not recognize Mr. Broderick as a true representative. In 1859 the democratic legislature adopted resolutions denouncing, as a disgrace to the nation, the language used by him in the United States senate when he said that the policy of the administration towards Kansas should be ascribed to "the fading intellect, the petulant passion, and the trembling dotage of an old man on the verge of the grave." This studied insult wounded the feelings of the president, violated the proprieties of parliamentary debate, and was without foundation in fact. Mr. Buchanan was doubtless wrong, at least the people have since decided that he was, but his error was that of his party, and, it may be said, that of his country, for his policy towards Kansas was nothing more than the legitimate development of the course pursued by the democratic leaders and approved by the party in the two preceding presidential elections. He was gentlemanly in his manners, upright in his official position, and entitled to respect in his errors of judgment. On no other occasion has the legislature of California complained that the state had been disgraced by one of its senators.

SEC. 151. *Campaign of 1859.* The democrats had now divided into two wings, the Lecompton, Buchanan or pro-slavery on one side, and the anti-Lecompton, Douglas or popular sovereignty faction on the other. Each nominated its ticket, and the republicans had theirs also, so there were three tickets in the field. The campaign was bitter; Broderick, for the first time in his life, made speeches before mass meetings, and in these spoke abusively of Gwin, accusing him of having been bribed by the Pacific Mail company, and by the owners of Lime Point, on the northern shore of the Golden Gate (they demanded and came near getting an outrageous price for a piece of land valuable only for military purposes), and denouncing his "utter worthlessness of character," his "unreliability of word," and his "sneaking manner of acting" He also claimed that a letter had been stolen from him by the connivance of Latham. Both gentlemen denied these accusations, and repaid them with interest. Latham declared that Broderick's speeches were written for him, and that he had not ability to make one of his own. Gwin said that Broderick intended to use his senatorial power to compensate his friends for money loaned to him. Before the day of election a fusion was agreed upon between the leading republicans and anti-Lecomptonites as to the candidates for congress, so that instead of two anti-administration tickets, with two congressional candidates on each, there was only one, so far as congress was concerned, with one candidate for each party.

Even this did not avail. The Lecomptonites elected their congressmen, as well as their governor. Thus Broderick was again rejected by the people.

And now came the tragic end of his checkered career. In June, David S. Terry, chief justice of the supreme court of the state, in a speech to a convention before which he was a candidate for renomination, said that Broderick's claim of having followed the lead of Douglas, needed the explanation that it was the lead, not of Stephen A. Douglas, the statesman, but of Frederick Douglass, the mulatto. Broderick was at the breakfast-table in the International Hotel when he read the report of this speech, and speaking to a friend so loud that others could hear, said he had spoken of Terry as the only honest man on the bench, but now he took it back. D. W. Perley, a friend of Terry, happening to be present, spoke up showing his intention to take Broderick's remark seriously, left the table, where some ladies were seated, and soon afterwards sent a challenge. Broderick refused to accept it, and in a note to the challenger, said he could not fight with an alien—Perley was a British subject—who had no political rights to be affected by taking part in a duel, and then added the following:

> For many years, and up to the time of my elevation to the position that I now occupy, it was well known that I would not have avoided any issue of the character proposed. If compelled to accept a challenge it could only be with a gentleman holding a position equally elevated and responsible; and there are no circumstances which could induce me even to do this during the pendency of the present canvass. When I authorized the

> announcement that I would address the people of California during the campaign, it was suggested that efforts would be made to force me into difficulties, and I determined to take no notice of attacks from any source during the canvass. If I were to accept your challenge, there are probably many other gentlemen who would seek similar opportunities for hostile meetings, for the purpose of accomplishing a political object or to obtain public notoriety. I cannot afford, at the present time to descend to a violation of the constitution and the state laws to subserve either their or your purposes.

The note was one that could not be justified by any code. The penalties affixed to duelling in the laws of California, never having been enforced, were practically void; and the principle that the rights of gentlemen were limited by citizenship had never been accepted. The challenge might with entire propriety have been refused on the ground that the remark about Terry was none of Mr. Perley's business; and when it was declined there was no need of inserting the indirect invitation for a challenge from a gentleman holding a position equally elevated and responsible.

SEC. 152. *Deadly Duel.* Mr. Broderick did not write thus without a purpose, which was "to kill old Gwin," as he freely expressed it in conversation. When he suggested his desire to fight with a gentleman holding a position equally elevated and responsible, he thought only of his senatorial colleague, who might choose between shunning a duel and facing a practiced pistol. But Mr. Broderick was caught in his own trap. David S. Terry was not the man to abandon his friend Perley or to let Gwin assume his quarrel. As he could not fight a duel while on the bench without violating his oath of office, he resigned on the day after the election and immediately sent the challenge. Broderick was astonished and chagrined. Without any thought of Terry he had invited his challenge. The remark made at the breakfast table was a serious public insult; the letter to Perley was a declaration that he was ready to accept a challenge from a high official. No excuse could be found in Terry's character or position for avoiding his polite invitation to slaughter. Instead, however, of giving a simple acceptance, he explained that when commenting on Terry's speech he said that "during Judge Terry's incarceration by the vigilance committee, I paid two hundred dollars a week to support a newspaper in his defense." This attempt to conciliate Terry failed, for it was never a rule in "the code of honor" that a favor at one time was a justification for an insult at another, but the assertion itself was untrue, for though Broderick and his friends did maintain a newspaper while Terry was incarcerated, yet it was not supported for the purpose of defending Terry. Its defense of him was merely an incident of its general policy of hostility to the vigilance committee.

The duel was fought in San Mateo county, ten miles from San Francisco, on the thirteenth of September, with dueling pistols, at a distance of ten yards. Both men were excellent marksmen, familiar with the weapons and brave; but Broderick, suffering with diarrhea and the piles, was nervous, while Terry was cool. When the signal was given, both began instantly to raise their pistols, but before Broderick had brought his near to a level his finger pressed the trigger, and his bullet struck the ground near the feet of his enemy who fired a second later, the ball striking the right breast and passing into the left lung, where it lodged. Terry was so cool that he saw the dust fly and the cloth bend under the bullet. He immediately said, "The shot is not mortal; I have struck two inches to the right." Broderick lingered for five days, much of the time under the influence of narcotics, given to protect him against the acute pain of his wound. It was reported that while upon his deathbed he said, "They have killed me because I was opposed to the extension of slavery and a corrupt administration;" but he said nothing of the kind.

SEC. 153. *Conversion into a Hero.* After his death Broderick was converted into a hero. The general sentiment in San Francisco, especially among the most intelligent men, was strongly adverse to Buchanan's administration, and a political purpose was to be gained by treating him as a martyr to the cause of liberty. To praise the dead senator was an excellent bait for his followers. Thus in the city where Broderick while alive was generally regarded as an unscrupulous politician, after his death he was praised as the greatest of her citizens. In Lone Mountain cemetery his tomb has the best place, and his monument is the most prominent and is the only one there to which the state contributed funds, and in laying the corner-stone of which a governor participated. The funeral of Broderick was one of the most imposing public demonstrations ever seen in San Francisco, and E. D. Baker delivered an eloquent oration on the occasion.

SEC. 154. *Trading Capital.* Mr. Broderick's residence in San Francisco was a source of great political strength to him. The majority of the ward politicians of the city were from New York, and they recognized him as their leader. Through them he controled the democratic conventions from 1851 to 1856 inclusive. He did not dictate all the nominations, but they were generally submitted to him and accepted by him before they were formally announced. He allowed considerable liberty of action to his followers, so long as they did nothing to obstruct his plans. As he had control of the city and state offices in the city so long as the democrats had power, all the ruffians who wanted to make money out of politics on the Tammany side, sought his favor, and were ready to do what they supposed would please him. They were the friends of his friends and the enemies of his enemies. Whoever in that class had taken his money and betrayed him was treated by his former associates as an outcast.

San Francisco was the chief center of political power. It was the point where all the inland lines of travel converged, where the politicians of the interior met to arrange their plans. There was not so much communication between Mokelumne Hill and Placerville, though only thirty miles apart, as there was between either town and San Francisco, which was two hundred miles from each. In this metropolitan situation, Broderick and Gwin were the leaders of the two rival factions, but the latter was in the city, the weaker of the two. He had not the same talent for partisan discipline, not so much experience in it, nor, on account of his duties as senator at Washington, could he devote so much time to it; and what was more important than all, the southern people, who were his reliance, were in a decided minority in the city, where the northern men, who sympathized with Broderick's policy, even when they disliked him personally, were numerous, especially among the classes who had most influence in the partisan organization. Having control of the San Francisco nominations, and of the delegations sent by San Francisco to the democratic state conventions, Broderick possessed in them a large capital for partisan traffic, while Gwin had no such strength to trade with.

Broderick was determined to do everything that was necessary to secure his election to the federal senate with the help of the democratic party. It appeared indispensable that he should use many very disreputable men, like Mulligan, Sullivan and Casey, but he refused to associate with them. Some of them he paid with money and some with minor offices. With other men, against whom much was said in the community, in some cases perhaps more on account of the company in which they were seen than for any other reason, he was on terms of familiar friendship, and he considered them his lieutenants, to be called into service whenever their several capacities were adapted to the work to be done. Among them were J. M. Estell, A. J. Butler, Leonidas Haskell, Reuben Maloney, and Judge McGowan. Another class, composed of men of excellent repute, was employed in work suited to their tastes, and under circumstances when their respectability would reflect credit on him. He had friends also among his political enemies; but most of the men with whom he associated familiarly were political tricksters of low character.

SEC. 155. *Reward for Service.* These people did not serve him for nothing. Many of them received high pay, usually out of the public treasury. It was not his policy to let those who had been his friends go without reward, some with office, some otherwise. When the county supervisors and city council, in 1852 (the city had then one government, and the county another), united to buy the Jenny Lind theater from his friend, Thomas Maguire, for twice as much as the property was worth, he favored the transaction. It was consummated in defiance of a strong outburst of popular indignation, but not long afterwards the value of land advanced so much that the property was worth more than had been paid for it.

When Broderick sought to secure the senatorship in 1854, he felt the want of support by some respectable newspaper in San Francisco, and he secured that of the "Alta California," which had previously been his enemy. As it depended for its support mainly on the merchants, with whom as a class he was very unpopular, the paper incurred serious risks by advocating his cause, but a cash consideration was paid, and subsequently the county supervisors purchased the Alta building on the south-west corner of Washington street and Brenham place for a hall of records, paying about fifty thousand dollars in warrants, or the equivalent of forty thousand dollars in gold for it—considerably more than it was worth.

The extension bill of 1853 was one of the great political frauds of California. It provided that the water front of San Francisco should be moved six hundred feet into the bay beyond the line fixed as a permanent water front by law in 1851, and the intervening strip should be conveyed to individuals; at least one third of the value to go into the state treasury, and the remainder to those persons who had bought the land at the Peter Smith sale several years before. That sale purported to grant the interest of the city in the land, but as the city had not the least interest there, the deed was void. It served, however, as a basis for a vast scheme of plunder, which was to be carried out with the help of the legislature. The property was valued at six million dollars. It was expected that the state would get two million, and the holders of deeds for the extension land four million, which latter sum was to be stolen indirectly from the state treasury. Of course the advocates of the measure did not confess that it was theft; they pretended that purchasers at the Peter Smith sale had equities which the state should recognize; and they argued, though the argument deserved no respect, that the extension would benefit the city and commerce. Some of the younger, or more ignorant, members of the legislature doubtless believed that the measure was right; others voted to please friends and without demanding any valuable consideration, but many sold their votes. It was a matter of common notoriety that deeds had been distributed freely among legislators while the bill was pending.

In San Francisco, the leading journals denounced the measure in the most emphatic terms; the merchants held meetings to condemn it; its fraudulent features were fully explained and proved; it was a violation of the contract made in the statute fixing the water front line in 1851; it would require the raising of the grade on Montgomery street from Jackson to Sutter street eight or ten feet, and a corresponding increase of elevation further east, thus imposing upon the citizens an expense far beyond the amount that would be paid into the state treasury. Those San Francisco assemblymen opposed to the bill resigned for the purpose of getting an expression of opinion from their constituents, and they were triumphantly re-elected by five sixths of all the votes cast. There was no doubt about the feeling in San Francisco.

The majority of the holders of the extension deeds were Broderick's intimate friends. The measure was recommended by Governor Bigler, who was under his influence. Brush, one of his devoted followers, introduced the bill. Estell, one of his chief aids, was its manager in the lobby. Nearly all his friends in the legislature voted for it; he was in attendance during the session, though his home was in San Francisco, and he was not a member. It passed the assembly, where his faction had a large majority; it was defeated in the senate by the casting vote of Lieutenant-Governor Samuel Purdy, who afterwards received the congratulations of Mr. Broderick for having done right, with the explanation that as his friends were largely interested in the bill, he had not made any effort against it. By Broderick's influence Bigler was subsequently renominated, Estell obtained a lucrative state prison contract, and Brush was placed in a fat office in San Francisco.

Purdy's vote secured great popularity to him, and there was a general demand that he should be the democratic candidate for governor. There was no doubt that the extension bill was generally considered a serious fraud, and that Bigler, if renominated, would lose many democratic votes. But Broderick had his personal purposes to gain, and for their sake he was willing to endanger the party, and to impose upon the good nature of his friends. The election of Purdy for governor would have thrown two obstacles in the way of his advancement to the senate. Purdy and he were both from the same state, and objection would surely be made to giving a senatorship to a New Yorker immediately after another had obtained the governorship. If Bigler, who was a Pennsylvanian, were not nominated for governor, he would become a candidate for senator, and his popularity with the Missourians, who were a strong element in the legislature, might give him the preference. The leader of the Tammany faction explained these points to Purdy, and begged him not to be a candidate, and the selfish request was acceded to with an excess of generosity. Bigler and Purdy were renominated for governor and lieutenant-governor; the platform avoided all mention of the extension fraud; Purdy received twelve thousand votes more than Bigler; and the latter had a majority of fifteen hundred, though it was generally believed that he owed not less than three thousand votes to frauds on the ballot-box.

Though Broderick did not plunder the public treasury for his own profit, nor directly assist his friends to do so for theirs, yet he was, for several years, the "boss" of the city administration of San Francisco, as much as Tweed ever was in New York, and the general character of the city officials was equally base in the two cities under the "boss" control.

SEC. 156. *Veracity.* Mr. Broderick employed falsehood often and boldly, for the purpose of deceiving the people and injuring his enemies. He not only denied facts known to many persons, but he contradicted himself, and thus furnished proof of his misrepresentations. In a public letter, he said: "Between Mr. Gwin and myself there was no condition whatever in regard to the distribution of the patronage." In a speech at Quincy, he told the people that "Gwin sought me * * * and begged me, in the most humiliating manner to take him with me to the United States senate." At Stockton, he represented that there was a bargain, but it was made by Gwin with Ferguson; and at Yreka, he declared that Gwin "absolutely sold his followers for the position he now holds. * * * I gave him the position." On one occasion he said he knew nothing of Gwin's promise to give up the patronage, and afterwards he published Gwin's letter to himself dated three days before the election, renouncing all claim to the patronage. At Nevada, he asserted that he intended to support Latham, but discovered that the latter had employed an agent to steal a letter from Tilford, and for that reason Gwin was preferred. We have, however, the concurrent testimony of Estell, Tilford and Latham to prove that Latham was defeated solely because he would not give a written bill of sale transfering all the federal patronage in California. Besides, when Broderick replied to Latham's long speech at Nevada, giving a history of the senatorial election, he did not contradict the latter's statements.

Those who knew Mr. Broderick intimately claimed for him remarkable administrative ability, high conversational power, a strong attachment for his friends, a strict regard for his promises, and a wonderful capacity to charm all upon whom he exerted his powers. Their opinion may be accepted upon those points. He must have been a remarkable man to have triumphed over circumstances so strongly adverse as he repeatedly did, and to hold his influence over his followers after he had made so many serious blunders.

SEC. 157. *Chase for Senatorship.* He spent seven years in his struggle for the prize of the federal senatorship. Three times—in 1851, in 1855, and in 1856—he prevented an election rather than permit anybody else to get the place; once—in 1852—he was defeated; once—in 1854—he attempted to bring on the election fraudulently before the proper time; only one legislative session—that of 1853—between 1850 and 1857 inclusive, was free from the worry of a senatorial contest, and in six out of the seven struggles Mr. Broderick was a prominent actor. In 1854 his congressional ticket got only ten thousand out of seventy thousand votes; in 1855 his party was defeated because he controlled its nominations; in July, 1856, rumor said he was in danger of banishment by the vigilance committee, and when he left the city for several days his absence was popularly attributed to fear of the committee. Thus for three successive years after his attempt to grab the senatorial toga before it was ready, the people had expressed their dislike of him in a most emphatic manner; yet in January, 1857, he turned up as master of the legislature, and not only secured his own election to the highest political office which California could confer, but designated his bitterest political enemy as his colleague, obtaining from him, however, a written assurance that Mr. Broderick was to be dictator of the democratic party in California. Supposing that this transfer of the federal patronage to him would be approved by the people and his party, he confidently anticipated the distribution of the leading federal offices in the state among his friends, and when his demand was refused, he denounced President Buchanan as a dotard, and his policy as an outrage upon freedom. He appealed to the people of California to sustain him and they condemned him. Challenged by Perley, he declined, under the pretense that an alien was not entitled to the satisfaction of a gentleman, but he declared that he would not object to shoot at some official as high in office as himself. This bait, designed for Gwin, was seized by Terry, who, as a preparation for it, resigned his office of chief justice of the state. Broderick was so nervous that his pistol went off before he was ready, and his cool antagonist planted a mortal bullet within two inches of the spot which would have been instantly fatal. Thus this ambitious man was finally at rest; his fortunes ceased to vary, and his character belongs to history, where it must be judged, not by the extravagant praise of his personal friends, or the hate of his enemies, but by his public actions, which furnish sufficient material for measuring him morally and intellectually.

SEC. 158. *1860.* Among the important events of 1860 were the rejection by the federal supreme court of the Santillan claim under a pretended Mexican grant for fifteen thousand acres south of California street; the defeat by the state supreme court of the Peter Smith title to two thousand acres of land west of Larkin street, and the publication of evidence showing conclusively that the Sherreback claim for a tract of eight hundred acres south of Market and east of Tenth street was worthless. These claims and the Limantour, defeated two years before, had all been held by a few speculators; the Limantour and Santillan by persons not residents of the city; and as they were not in possession, and the occupants were not disposed to buy them off, the grading of lots, the opening of streets and the construction of houses on the large areas covered by the claims had been prevented or seriously obstructed. The overthrow of the claims added much to the wealth of thousands of citizens, gave security to the titles of large districts, and stimulated improvement and business south of Market and west of Larkin street. The construction of the steam railroad on Market and Valencia streets gave cheap and convenient access to the Mission and to Hayes valley, and added much to the value of their land. The Washoe mines had attracted much attention in 1859, but it was not until 1860 that the conviction was established that the Comstock lode had large and rich ore deposits, not to be exhausted for many years, and that the business men of San Francisco began to comprehend the importance of owning the mines and controling the management by companies incorporated in their city.

The federal census reported that California had 379,994 inhabitants. Of these three sevenths were men between the ages of twenty and fifty, and one eighth were women of the same age; and more than one third of all, or one half the adults were of foreign birth. Of the 146,528 foreigners, China supplied 34,935; Ireland, 33,147; Germany, 21,646; England, 12,227; Mexico, 9,150; France, 8,462; British America, 5,438; Scotland, 3,670; Italy, 2,805; and South America, 2,250. The American states which had the largest number of natives in California, were California, 77,707; New York, 28,654; Missouri, 14,002; Ohio, 12,592; Massachusetts, 12,165; Pennsylvania, 11,143; Maine, 9,864; Illinois, 8,251; Kentucky, 7,029; Tennessee, 5,197; and Virginia, 5,157. All the American states and all civilized nations were represented in this motley population; San Francisco was credited with 56,802 inhabitants.

SEC. 159. *Prosperity.* The defeat of the Mexican and Peter Smith claims to large areas in the southern part of the city, not only enriched thousands of citizens occupying the land in dispute, who now became the owners in full, and gave them inducements for opening streets, grading lots, and building substantial houses, but it offered opportunities for the investment of money, just at the time when the outbreak of the civil war checked the habit of paying visits to the east, and stimulated many Californians who had previously considered the state as a place for a brief sojourn to look upon it as their permanent home.

The ownership of the land south of Pine street having been doubtful, those citizens who wanted permanent homes had been compelled to purchase them in the northern wards, where the space was limited, the streets narrow and in many places steep, the buildings old and shabby, the grading, on account of the tough clay of the soil or underlying rock, costly, and the prices high. It was because of the uncertainty of titles in the south that most of the fashionable residences before 1860 were on Stockton, Powell, Mason and Taylor streets, north of Clay, and that nearly all the houses of worship were north of Pine street. St. Mary's cathedral and the First Congregational church were on the corner of California and Dupont streets; the First Unitarian and First Presbyterian on Stockton, near Clay; the First Baptist on Washington, near Stockton; the First Methodist and Grace (Episcopal) on Powell, near Washington, and Trinity (Episcopal) on Pine, below Kearny. The sites of these churches were selected then with reference to their proximity to the residences of the members of their congregations. The leading hotels, save the Oriental, were also north of Pine street.

The south end of the city, released from the heavy drag which had checked enterprise and prevented improvement for ten years, started suddenly upon a wonderful career of prosperity. The north end, deprived of the protection previously given to it by the inability to obtain secure titles and by the prohibition of grading and building in the south, remained nearly stationary, while the growth, the fashion, and the wealth gravitated rapidly to the southward, and to the western addition, which was reached through the southern streets. The work of the steam paddy, the construction of street railroads, the rise of the new hotels, completely eclipsing those of older date in the convenience of arrangement and elegance of construction and furniture as well as in size, and the transfer of the majority of the wealthy families, of the most fashionable promenades, and of the leading theaters and churches to the region south of Pine street, were among the important changes that followed the judicial decisions defeating the great land frauds. It is a singular fact, however, that the decision confirming the Sherreback claim has never been reversed, though it is said that the claimants have abandoned it. The rapid progress of the agriculture of the state, and the large revenue derived from the Comstock lode stimulated the growth of the city, and in the course of the year ending with August, 1861, one thousand four hundred and fifty-three new buildings were completed or commenced, including the Russ house, Lick house, Occidental hotel, Masonic temple, Grace church, and St. Mary's hospital.

SEC. 160. *Bulkhead.* As the time for the expiration of the contracts under which the wharves had been built was approaching, the owners of those structures having enjoyed large profits from the heavy taxes levied upon ships, formed a consolidated corporation, which proposed to build a stone bulkhead, and requested the legislature to give them, as compensation, possession of the water front, with the privilege of collecting tolls there for fifty years. The mercantile community protested against such a sacrifice of public interests to lobby influence, but the legislature passed the bill in defiance of sound policy and the popular will; but as the city had been saved seven years before from the great fraud of the extension bill, by the casting vote of Lieutenant-Governor Purdy, so now it was saved from the bulkhead bill by the veto of Governor Downey.

SEC. 161. *Pony Express.* A notable event in its time was the establishment of the pony express, which began its service carrying letters between St. Joseph, Missouri, the western end of the railway system on the Atlantic slope and Sacramento on the Pacific side. The distance was about nineteen hundred miles, and the time ten and a half days, or two hundred and fifty hours, with an average speed of nearly eight miles an hour, each horse going about twenty-four miles.

The horse mail started twice a week each way and seldom carried more than two hundred letters on a trip, sometimes not twenty, the high postage of five dollars for a half ounce driving the ordinary business to the slower mail. The first pony mail rider from the east arrived at one A. M. on the fourteenth of April at San Francisco, by the regular steamboat from Sacramento, bringing his horse with him for the purpose of making a display on his arrival. Announcement had been made that there was to be a public demonstration, and a multitude of people went in grand procession, with music and torches to the wharf, whence they escorted the mounted mail-carrier with continuous cheers to the post-office. The time for letters between New York and San Francisco was by the help of the pony reduced to thirteen days; but for news it was brought down to nine days, that being the time between the telegraphic stations at Carson and St. Joseph. The pony mail, though sometimes interrupted by Indian troubles, deprived the mail stage on the southern route of much of its interest for the general public, and was the main reliance of California for important news until the telegraph was completed across the continent. Before the pony mail had been started, a telegraph company, aided largely by newspaper enterprise, had begun to construct a line through the San Joaquin valley, on the mail route, the object being to catch the news in advance of the arrival of the stage at San Francisco. The wire reached Visalia in June, and was then continued on to Los Angeles, but its value for the purposes of its construction was of brief duration.

SEC. 162. *Election of 1860.* Though about two thousand miles away from any of the territory upon which the rebellion raged, California was profoundly agitated by the war. At nearly all the elections, from 1852 to 1859, the people of California had given decided majorities to the party in favor of the extension of slavery. In 1859 the southern democrats had 62,000 out of 103,000 votes; in 1858, 44,500 out of 81,000, and in 1857, 53,000 out of 93,000; but in 1860, when the death of Mr. Broderick had removed an objection that kept many votes from the northern democracy while under his political management, and when the line between the north and south was drawn with greater distinctness, the state gave its electoral vote to Lincoln, and out of 71,000 democratic votes, Douglas, the northern candidate, had 38,000. Breckinridge, who represented the moral right of secession, though the intention to secede was not avowed, and was not generally believed, had little more than one fourth of the votes cast in California, and only one sixth in San Francisco. Thus a large majority of the people had indicated at the polls that their sympathies were with the north, as might be inferred from the fact that more than two thirds of the Californians born on the Atlantic slope were natives of the free states. Under these circumstances it is not strange that when the flag of the rebellion was hoisted, California, under the leadership of San Francisco, adhered to the Union, and continued faithful to it to the end.

One result of the war was the abandonment of the overland mail on the southern route, and the establishment of a daily overland stage on the central route. At the same time the telegraph made rapid strides from both sides towards Salt Lake, where the connection was made on the twenty-third of October, and then San Francisco was put in instantaneous communication with New York. A new apportionment was made this year, giving the city one seventh of the members of the legislature, whereas it had previously only one tenth.

SEC. 163. *Baker's Oration.* On the twenty-ninth of October, a few days before the presidential election that was to give the federal government to the republican party, and put a stop to the advances of slavery on our continent, there was a great gathering of people at the American theater to welcome Edward D. Baker, who, long a resident of San Francisco, had in the previous spring gone to Oregon for the purpose of being elected federal senator, and while on his way to Washington with his commission in his pocket had stopped to spend a few days in the city which he considered his home, though he declared that his legal residence was in Oregon. He was a great orator, and on this occasion had great topics to discuss—the rights of freedom, the duty of sincere republicans to elect their candidates in defiance of the threats of the slavery extensionists, and the course which he should pursue as senator. The following passage in his oration deserves quotation here:

> We are a city set on a hill. Our light cannot be hid. As for me, I dare not, I will not be false to freedom. Where the feet of my youth were planted, there, by freedom, my feet shall stand. I will walk beneath her banner. I will glory in her strength. I have watched her, in history, struck down on an hundred chosen fields of battle. I have seen her friends fly from her; her foes gather round her. I have seen her bound to the stake; I have seen them give her ashes to the winds. But

when they turned to exult, I have seen her again meet them face to face, resplendent in complete steel, brandishing in her right hand a flaming sword, red with insufferable light. I take courage. The people gather round her. The Genius of America will at last lead her sons to freedom.

The orator was not a native of our city, nor even of our continent, having been brought to the United States when an infant by his English parents, but it was here that he found inspiration and appreciation for a passage which is one of the glories of San Francisco. It will survive the English language, if that can ever die; it will be repeated, cherished and appealed to until freedom in every form, the most precious of all the triumphs of humanity, and the struggle for it, the most sacred of all duties, shall have lost their interest. It surpasses any paragraph in Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, Mirabeau, Brougham, Webster, Sumner, or Gladstone; it more than complies with Macaulay's definition of eloquence. It is the soundest reason (deduced from numerous famous experiences, going back as far as history over a field as wide as civilization) on a subject appealing to the strongest sympathies of our common nature, white hot with the justest and most generous enthusiasm, and expressed in the highest polish of rhetoric. The large auditory, enthusiastic on account of their numbers, their zealous devotion to their party and its principles, confident of their victory, as assured by every premonitory sign, and about to take part in the ballot battle that was to decide the policy and fate of a great nation, received

Baker's outburst with keen appreciation, thrilling excitement, and thundering applause.

SEC. 164. *Seven Years.* The period of seven years, from 1854 to 1860 inclusive, was marked by the decline in the yield of gold, then the chief product of the area tributary to San Francisco, which ceased to gain population and wealth so rapidly as in the previous era, and in some of her leading branches of business suffered severely, though she continued to prosper, building many houses every year, opening new streets, paving old ones, building sewers, and grading streets to the newly adopted official levels. Many families arrived from the east, society improved notably, and communication with the Atlantic slope was greatly facilitated by the Panama railroad, the overland stage, and the pony express.

While the gold yield and the number of mines decreased, the state was making far more progress than it had done in the preceding five years. It changed the bulk of its population from a migratory to a fixed condition. The titles of many of the Mexican grants were settled; considerable areas of federal land were surveyed and occupied; numerous farm buildings, fences, roads and bridges were constructed; orchards and vineyards were set out with the best varieties of fruit; horses, neat cattle and sheep of the best blood were imported; and a still greater addition was made to the wealth of the state by the arrival of the wives, children, sisters and mothers of men who had lived for years without their families. The regions about

San Francisco, San Pablo, Suisun and Monterey bays were especially prosperous; the towns of Sacramento, Stockton and Marysville improved; and in the mining regions, while the shallow placers were giving out, many hydraulic camps, including Yankee Jim, Todd's Valley, Michigan Bluff, North San Juan, Camptonville, Brandy City, La Porte, Port Wine, the drift mining towns of Iowa Hill, Forest Hill, Forest City, Alleghany, and the quartz mining towns, rose in importance. The growth of the state secured the continuance of the prosperity of the metropolis.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SILVER ERA.

SECTION 165. *1861.* Soon after the inauguration of Lincoln, California was called upon to decide whether she would adhere to the cause of the Union, or set up a Pacific republic, the latter course being the one recommended by the majority of her representatives in congress. On the eleventh of May, San Francisco held an immense public meeting, or rather collection of meetings, for the day was converted into a holiday. The streets were filled with flags, and a multitude of speeches were made and resolutions adopted, in favor of sustaining the federal government in its policy of preserving the national unity by force. The demonstration was so emphatic, and showed such an immense preponderance of feeling in favor of the Union in the metropolis, that the policy of California and Oregon was decided. Six days later, the legislature adopted resolutions in favor of the Union; but it had previously shown its feeling on the same side by electing James McDougal a Union democrat to succeed Dr. Gwin as federal senator. The last political duel in which a northerner was shot by a southerner in California soon followed and resulted in the death of C. W. Piercy, a Union man, shot by Daniel Showalter, a secessionist. At the election in September, San Francisco gave more than twice as many votes for the republican ticket as for the two democratic tickets together. The republican party carried the state for the first time, electing Leland Stanford governor. As a consequence of the war, the southern overland mail was abandoned, and a daily overland mail was established by way of Salt Lake. By the completion of the telegraph across the continent, important changes were made in mercantile business, banking, journalism and social life.

SEC. 166. *1862.* For eight years from 1853 there had been a steady decline in the yield of the precious metals on the Pacific slope, until in 1861 the exportation had fallen to forty million dollars, a decrease of two million dollars a year on an average; but now it began to rise again. The Comstock lode in 1862 turned out six million dollars, and gave promise of doing far better in the future. A number of mills were at work on its ores, and experience in extracting silver had made enough progress to enable the trustees of the mining companies to form a definite idea of the business. The general opinion among them was one of high satisfaction with the profits of working the better quality of ores. The method of reduction by amalgamation in iron pans holding a ton or two of pulverized ore was new; and though there was a large waste, varying from one third to one half of the precious metal, yet as the working was expeditious, while the other processes were slow and more costly, it was maintained, while all attempts to reduce in wooden barrels like those of Freiberg, or in Mexican heaps like mortar beds, were abandoned. The production of silver having been three times as large as in the previous year, with confidence of a still larger yield in the near future, there was an active demand for the stocks of the silver companies, and their sale now became a prominent feature in the city's business, to which it gave a highly speculative tendency. The San Francisco stock and exchange board was organized to accommodate the dealers in the shares of silver mining companies. Although the gold mines of California produced four times as much as the Comstock lode, they had a very inferior place as spheres of investment in the general opinion, partly because most of the gold mines were worked on a relatively small scale, and required the daily attendance of the owners, so that there would have been little profit for companies organized in the metropolis. The largest gold mine ever worked in California is a small affair financially as compared with the leading mines of the Comstock lode. Gold stocks were in 1862, as they still are, of little importance as compared with silver stocks in the San Francisco market.

The civil war which oppressed the Atlantic slope stimulated business on the Pacific side. The increased risks of the voyage round Cape Horn caused a rise in freights, and aided the establishment or enlargement of many manufacturing houses. Agricultural produce commanded good prices. Congress, to reward and confirm the loyalty of California, and to provide a quicker and more secure communication between the eastern and western coasts of the country, passed a bill to aid the construction of a railroad from the Missouri to the Sacramento river. While certain classes of people were prevented from coming to California, others fled to the Pacific to avoid the tumult of hostilities or the draft. The check upon travel had a strong influence in favor of economy and stability of population. A flood which exceeded any other before or since within the observation of American residents, drove thousands of people from the lower portions of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, many taking refuge in San Francisco, and contributing to its wealth. For several days the state house in Sacramento was not accessible without the aid of boats, and the legislature moved to the metropolis for the remainder of the session. More than one thousand houses were built. The rapid growth of the city gave rise to an active speculation in town lots, and numerous homestead associations were organized to help poor people in exchanging their money for little patches of land in remote places. The Russ, the Lick and the Occidental, finer and more spacious hotels than any of their predecessors, were built and opened. The waters of Pilarcitos creek were brought in with a larger supply than the city had had before, and at a better elevation. The cars of the Omnibus street railroad began to run, and the work on the North Beach and Mission road was commenced. The republican party, which had carried the state in the previous year, withdrew from the field, so as to permit a fusion of its members with the Union democrats in the Union party—the Californian political organization which sustained the administration of President Lincoln till the close of the war, against the democrats, its enemies.

SEC. 167. *Sanitary Fund.* While the rebels were seeking to divide the country into two nations, which would probably have been hostile to each other for ages, and would necessarily have maintained standing armies objectionable on account of their danger to liberty, as well as of their cost, many patriotic citizens of San Francisco, unable to leave their families and business and make the long voyage to the Atlantic side, at an expense greater than that of hiring a substitute there, felt some twinges of conscience that they had not borne arms in defense of the starry flag. Others, who could conveniently go, went. Among those who reached high commands in the Union army were not less than a dozen who had been residents of California. Sherman, Halleck and Hooker, stationed as officers of the army at San Francisco, had long before resigned to engage in civil business. McPherson had been one of the army engineers at San Francisco for years before he was ordered east at the outbreak of the rebellion. Grant and Sheridan had been stationed in the state. Others of less note were numerous; and many of the military leaders on the southern side had also been in California.

The time came, however, when patriotic citizens could render valuable service to the Union without taking up arms. In the disastrous campaign of 1862, large numbers of soldiers were stricken down by wounds or disease, and the government was unable to take the best care of them. Some philanthropic and patriotic New Yorkers organized the Sanitary Commission, under the leadership and presidency of Dr. Bellows, the distinguished Unitarian clergyman and pulpit orator. He wrote to his friend Starr King, who started the movement for a subscription in San Francisco, and gave his zeal and eloquence to the cause. Here was a chance for the people to show their attachment to the Union, and their response was magnificent. San Francisco sent three hundred thousand dollars in gold in the last half of 1862, and other portions of the Pacific Slope supplied one hundred and eighty thousand dollars. The secretary of the committee which collected the money, in a report of its work, said:

> All private business was ignored, for the time, by the gentlemen composing the committee, and the chief hours of the day given to this new and noble work. The whole city seemed to be thrilled as with an electric shock, and the talk of the groups on the streets, the merchants on 'change, boys in the gutter, of men, women and children, was the movement for the relief of our sick and wounded soldiers; and every loyal man's heart beat in active sympathy with the work. The soldiers' needs took such an energetic hold on the people that the committee, on their rounds, were not treated as unwelcome beggars, but greeted as men who were doing a work which it was each man's pride to see well accomplished; and they gave—all citizens gave—with such enthusiasm as one might expect from recipients of good gifts, instead of givers of the wealth they had toiled for; and there was such singular unanimity as men see in no other great public undertaking. There was alive, to interrupt their action, no bias of political feeling, no conflict of religious opinion, no difference on grounds of nationality. Men gave their gold as the overflow of great patriotic love. It was the blood of their giant protector, their country, native or adopted, that was flowing, and they came forth readily to stay its stream. Men of every political party gave, whether Democrats, Republicans, or even secessionists; and there was no sect or religion that was not repre-

sented in this noble army of givers. The Christians gave with loyal self-denial; the Jews, as earnest sympathizers with the suffering; heretics, as citizens of a republic to be saved; and men of no religion, with an ardor worthy the humblest religious devotee. The representatives of every nation living in our midst, English, German, French, Irish, Chinese, Italian, Hungarian, Russian, Spanish, gave with the fervor of native citizens.

The large sum thus supplied by California gave importance to the Sanitary Commission, which had previously done little, and had been almost unheard of in most of the Atlantic states; but with this help, it became a prominent feature of the war. The money subscriptions from the other parts of the Union were comparatively small, and in October, 1863, Dr. Bellows sent the following telegram to San Francisco:

> The sanitary funds are low. Our expenses are fifty thousand dollars a month. We can live three months, and that only, without large support from the Pacific. Twenty-five thousand dollars a month, paid regularly while the war lasts, from California, would make our continuance on our present magnificent scale of beneficence a certainty. We would make up the other twenty-five thousand dollars a month here. We have already distributed sanitary stores, of the value of seven million dollars, to all parts of the army, at a cost of three per cent. To abandon our work, or to allow it to dwindle, would be a horrible calamity to the army and the cause. We never stood so well with the nation; but California has been our main support in money, and if she fails us we are lost. So organize, if possible, a monthly subscription, and let us feel that California trusts and will sustain us in her past spirit to the end.

A response sent that San Francisco would supply two hundred thousand dollars in 1864, and that there was reason to hope that other parts of the state would give one hundred thousand dollars more, called out the following acknowledgment, which, read with high local pride and tears of emotion on the morning of its reception at the tables of many of the contributors, was a reward for past and a stimulus for future contributions:

> Brothers: I wonder that your life-giving telegram, charged with two hundred thousand dollars, did not find me in my travels, and shock me into immediate consciousness of the splendid news. But just returned to New York, I see my table illuminated with this resplendent message, and in my haste to acknowledge such a glorious and patriotic continuance in well-doing, I can only stutter: Noble, Tender, Faithful San Francisco, city of the heart, commercial and moral capital of the most humane and generous state in the world! If God gives to you, so you give to others. Your boundaries will not hold the riches and the blessings in store for you; they must needs overflow into the hands of the needy and suffering, and make your name the balm and cordial of want and sorrow. "I was sick, and ye visited me." This is the nation's thought, as she sees herself wounded in every hero that languishes in her hospitals, and then gazes at the Pacific, at California, with San Francisco at the head—the good Samaritan for the first time appearing in the proportions of a great city, of a whole state, of a vast area.

A monthly subscription was organized, and the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars a month—nearly one thousand dollars for every business day—was sent by San Francisco, which then had not more than one hundred and ten thousand inhabitants. The final report of the commission, published after the close of the war, showed that out of four million eight hundred thousand dollars cash received, California had supplied more than one million two hundred thousand in currency. The gold value of the latter amount was about nine hundred and forty thousand dollars, and of this sum San Francisco supplied about half. The Christian Commission of California organized for purposes similar to those of the Sanitary Commission, sent thirty-four thousand dollars in gold to the central organization in Philadelphia.

SEC. 168. *1863.* The flood season of 1862, which brought forty-nine inches of rain, was succeeded by the drought of 1863, when there were only fourteen, or less than two thirds of the average; but as agricultural produce commanded high prices, and the Comstock lode yielded twelve million dollars, or twice as much as in the previous year, San Francisco was prosperous. The opening of the railroad to San José extended the suburbs of the city for a distance of thirty miles, and helped to enrich San Mateo and Santa Clara counties. The North Beach and Mission, and the Central street-railroad to Lone Mountain, were completed, and also the Oakland railroad wharf, twelve hundred yards long, so that access was given to that town at regular hours, instead of being dependent on the tides as before. The Cliff House road was finished, and the legislature passed acts to authorize the widening of Kearny street, and to transfer the control of the water front of San Francisco from private corporations to state officials. The new houses of the year numbered twelve hundred.

SEC. 169. *Silver Panic.* The production of silver at Washoe, and the distribution of large dividends, made an intense excitement in the metropolis. Mining for silver, and the management of silver mining companies, were as yet comparatively new, and people did not know what to expect or believe. The books on Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia, were ransacked for information about the Guanajuato, Zacatecas, Cerro Pasco, and Potosi argentiferous lodes which were similar in many of their mineralogical features to the Comstock; and the continued productiveness of these mines for centuries had a strong influence to encourage speculation in the silver stocks of San Francisco. The shares, or feet, as they were generally called, for at that time it was customary to have one share for each lineal foot, had in some leading mines been rising in price at the rate of about one hundred dollars every month for a year, until in June, Gould & Curry sold for six thousand three hundred dollars; Savage, four thousand dollars; Ophir, two thousand seven hundred dollars; Hale & Norcross, two thousand one hundred dollars, and Chollar, one thousand dollars. These figures indicate that the aggregate value of the lode was about twenty-five million dollars, of which a large part had been gained or added by speculation within the year. The market was then sustained chiefly by the Gould & Curry, which was working a highly profitable bonanza. Some of the richest stockholders, learning that the limits of the rich deposit had been reached, and that the dividends to be expected would not justify the price, sold out. A panic followed, with a swift disappearance of much of the imaginary wealth, and great losses to thousands of poor people, for by this time all classes of the population had become holders of feet, and the stock board was one of the chief centers of business in San Francisco.

So long as the bodies of silver ore in the Comstock lode had appeared to grow larger as greater depth was reached, and inexperience and hope knew not where they should limit their calculations of profit from the dividends of the mining companies, so long there was increase of excitement upon a basis that had no permanence. After the panic, unscrupulous speculators began to make changes in their mode of doing business, so that they would be sure of gains whether their mines should pay dividends or not. The laws had been loosely drawn, and all the permissible privileges that could be turned to their pecuniary advantage were taken. The increase in the number of shares was a great convenience, and almost a necessity, for companies whose shares had sold for as much as six thousand dollars each; but as there was no proper restriction upon the increase or the disposal of the new shares, it sometimes happened that they were issued to pay for adjacent property, of which the managers directly or indirectly owned a large part. So the mining companies contracted at good prices with mills to crush ore in large quantities, and though the ore did not pay the expense of extraction and reduction, the mill yielded a large dividend to its owners, who were at the same time directors of the mine. The mining directors, as a class, looked not to the dividends from the mine, but to their mills and the purchase and sale of the stock for the bulk of their profits. For the purpose of hiding their transactions, they held perhaps a score of shares in their own names and thousands in the name of a trustee—the name of the principal not being given—so that there was nothing on the record of the company to show the ownership, and no one save the trustee could tell on whose account the sale or purchase was made. The shares were not numbered, and could not be traced; the certificates were evidences that so many shares had been sold, but did not indicate which special ones. The superintendents were selected by the directors, and were expected to consult their wishes and interests. In a rich mine the quantity and quality of the ore produced and the appearance of the stopes must be regulated by the desire of the directors to buy or sell. The rich deposits were concealed when the stock was to be bought up, or worked with every energy when it was to be thrown on the market. The superintendent of every prominent mine conducted on such principles had his book of ciphers, so that he could send secret messages to his masters and let them know whether the ore was growing richer or poorer, enlarging or diminishing in quantity. Mines were systematically treated as combinations, in which the managers were to be enriched at the expense of the mass of the stockholders. Secret drifts, winzes and crosscuts, and at a little later date, the boring of the diamond drill, gave them important information weeks and even months before it was accessible to others. A decent regard for the rights of the company required that mining engineers of high reputation for ability, learning and integrity, should be employed in the richer mines to make a comprehensive report to be submitted at every annual meeting, showing the quantity and quality of the ore in sight, the condition of the shafts, drifts and stopes, and the prospect for further working, but such reports would have prevented the trustees from swindling the public. Some of the most important checks upon dishonesty were never adopted; while every trick that cunning could devise to make the many pay the expenses, securing to the few the bulk of the profit, was practiced on an extensive scale, in the most active of all the stock markets. On such a basis not less than a dozen of the millionaire fortunes of San Francisco have been built.

SEC. 170. *Conness.* The election of John Conness to the federal senatorship was a singular turn in events. A year and a half before, as the candidate of the Douglas democrats for governor, he had used his influence to prevent a fusion of the Union men, and had thus exposed the cause to defeat. But he was so badly beaten at the polls that his faction were demoralized, and they were glad to accept the invitation of the republicans to form the Union party, which then became dominant and held control of the state government for several years. The course of Mr. Conness in 1861, in trying to prevent a combination of the Union men, his ardent advocacy of the bulkhead bill and his position as the favorite of the lowest class of professional politicians in the state, were serious drawbacks to his advancement, but he had his zealous supporters, and he appeared as an aspirant for the senatorship in 1863. His principal rivals were T. G. Phelps and A. A. Sargent, both old republicans and then members of congress. The caucus of union members of the legislature balloted many times before any candidate could obtain a majority. While matters were in this situation, a friend of Mr. Phelps tried to buy one of Sargent's men. The proof of the attempted bribery was conclusive, and it destroyed Mr. Phelps' chances for that occasion, and as his adherents generally were bitter against Sargent for the exposure, enough went over to Conness to give him the prize, and he thus obtained the chief control of the federal patronage for the next six years. His senatorial colleague during most of that time was James A. McDougal, who, on account of his adherence to the democratic party and his dissipated habits, had little influence in political affairs at Washington.

For the purpose of strengthening his own influence at home, Mr. Conness undertook to manage the distribution of the state as well as the federal offices. The first election of a state administration for a term of four years under the amendments to the constitution adopted by the people in 1862, was now to be held. Mr. Phelps was not a candidate, and Mr. Sargent wanted to be governor, and was fairly entitled to the place, but Mr. Conness, by the help of his senatorial position, obtained control of the state convention and made up a ticket so as to leave as little influence as possible for Mr. Sargent. Among the republican friends of Mr. Sargent claiming seats in the convention was Frank Pixley, an old republican and a brilliant orator. He held a proxy from San Francisco; but Mr. Conness, for the purpose of excluding him, secured the adoption of a rule that no person should hold a proxy without the consent of the majority of the delegation from the county. The majority were against Pixley, and he was excluded. A considerable part of the business of the convention had been transacted when Pixley presented himself with a proxy from San Bernardino.

The Conness faction then tried to adopt a rule that no person should hold a proxy, except from a county of which he was a resident. This trick in convention management was new and base, but did not succeed. Pixley took the platform to speak upon the question, as his rights were involved. The large delegations from San Francisco and Sacramento, consisting in considerable proportion of low ruffians, stamped and yelled so that the speaker's voice could not be heard. After saying a few words he ceased to make a noise, but continued to work his mouth and gesticulate as if he were delivering an oration. Exhaustion and curiosity got the better of the rowdies, and as their noise declined Pixley began to speak about the civil war, and that topic had such an overwhelming interest, that even those, who hated him most, wanted to hear his remarks. The national cause then, two months before the victories of Vicksburg and Gettysburg, looked very dark, and whoever could say an encouraging word to the Union men was welcome. Pixley's eloquence soon restored order and commanded applause. Having secured a hearing, he spoke wittily of the situation of himself and other original republicans, who were excluded from a Union convention representing a party of which two thirds were republicans, organized to sustain a republican national administration, and he soon had the convention in a roar of laughter. Then he turned his attention to business. Pointing to the ruffians who had drowned his voice, he said he knew them; he recognized among them men who had thrown rotten eggs at him when he delivered republican speeches before his party obtained control of the state government; they were professional ruffians, and not too good to murder for money; their admission to a state convention was a disgrace to the cause; and they were fit tools to be used against him as they had been. This invective was notoriously true, and was answered with howls of rage, and even threats of violence, by the subjects of it; but they were soon subdued by the overwhelming applause of the majority. Pixley's triumph was one of the greatest that oratory could achieve; but the oration itself had much reference to circumstances that could not be appreciated by readers generally without long explanations, and even if it had been reported in full, as it was not, would not have much interest now, though to those present at the convention and familiar with the previous political history of the state, it showed wonderful mastery of many varied and strong passions.

SEC. 171. *1864.* The winter of 1863-4 brought only ten inches of rain, or less than half the average, and as the previous season had not brought two thirds of the average, the crops of grass and grain in 1864 were very scant. More than one fourth of the farm animals in the state died of starvation, and several southern coast counties saved only one in three of all their neat cattle. This was a great disaster to the farmers; but San Francisco had her compensation from other sources. The silver yield of Nevada was $16,000,000, an increase of nearly one third over the previous year. Besides, the placers of Idaho and eastern Oregon attained high activity, producing together $6,000,000; and with these helps, the exportation of treasure reached $55,000,000, a gain of $9,000,000 over 1863, and of $15,000,000 since 1860, when nearly the whole supply of the precious metals passing through San Francisco came from California. The population of the state increased 9500 by immigration, and 1050 new houses were erected in the city. Among the prominent buildings of the year were Donohue, Kelly & Co.'s bank, on the south-east corner of Sacramento and Montgomery streets; Maguire's Academy of Music, on the north side of Pine street, below Montgomery; and the Toland Medical College, on Stockton street, near Chestnut. The long bridge, extending a mile across Mission Cove, on the line of Fourth and Kentucky streets, was completed; the grading of Broadway, between Kearny and Montgomery, with a cut in one place sixty feet deep through the rock, was finished at a cost of $30,000 for that one block; an ordinance was passed to widen Kearny street; a wharf, a thousand yards long, extending out from the shore at Alameda Point to deep water was built to connect the town of Alameda by cars and ferry-boat with the city; and the Bay View turnpike gave convenient access to South San Francisco.

The legislature of 1863 had authorized San Francisco to give $600,000 of her bonds for an equal amount of stock in the Central Pacific Railroad and $400,000 for so much stock in the Western Pacific; and the proposed gifts, when submitted to popular vote, were approved; but the companies were not under the control of San Francisco capitalists; the Central Pacific threatened competition to the road from Sacramento to Folsom, owned in San Francisco, and there was a general belief that the Central Pacific would never be built, and that consequently the stock would never be worth anything, and might even bring heavy pecuniary liabilities on the city. The supervisors, under the influence of such opinions, stubbornly refused to issue the bonds in compliance with the act of the legislature, and as the city had the means to carry on a protracted litigation, and might even succeed in getting the next legislature to repeal or modify the previous action, a compromise was agreed upon by which the supervisors should give $450,000 to the Central Pacific, and $250,000 to the Western Pacific and get no stock or other compensation. Subsequent events proved that this compromise was a great mistake, for the stock in the Central Pacific would have been worth four times its cost.

SEC. 172. *Gold Currency.* This year saw also the end of the struggle in the legislature to force a currency of legal tender notes upon the state. In 1863 the specific contract act had been passed, providing that a written agreement made for the payment of money in any particular kind of currency recognized as legal tender by the government of the United States might be enforced specifically by judicial decree. The object of this was to enable business men to conduct their transactions in gold coin, and it succeeded. There was much hostility to this statute, under the supposition that it was inconsistent with patriotism, and many speculators complained that the state was seriously injured by excluding cheap money; but the general judgment of San Francisco rejected these ideas as unsound, and by the influence of the city the specific contract act and the gold currency were maintained. Some attempts for repeal were made in later years, until the federal supreme court, in one of its decisions, laid down the broad principle that a contract for payment of any kind of legal tender money must be enforced in all parts of the United States, whether in writing or not, thus superseding the specific contract act of California.

SEC. 173. *Lincoln Re-elected.* The presidential election of 1864 awakened a strong feeling in San Francisco. The democrats demanded peace, which it was generally believed could not be obtained by diplomacy without a division of the country into two nations, and all the great evils that must necessarily follow such a result; and when, on the eighth of November, the republicans learned that they had carried every loyal state, the city was filled with enthusiasm, which was increased by the news of the capture of the rebel cruiser "Florida." When evening came, there was a grand celebration. Numerous bonfires, illuminated windows, torches, roman candles and rockets, filled the streets with a blaze of light, and a brilliant moon beamed in an unclouded sky, while a procession of four thousand men, with flags, transparencies and numerous bands of music, marched twenty abreast through the principal streets, singing patriotic songs, cheering the newspaper offices, the dwellings of prominent republicans, and the ladies who, upon the sidewalks or in the windows, waved their handkerchiefs in congratulation. A cannon at the head of the procession halted at brief intervals to add the roaring of its thunder to the general rejoicing. It was a scene never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Its participants believed the victory won at the polls was not less important to the future welfare of the country than any yet won in the field of arms; and when they were sure it had been won, their exultation was intense. They now counted confidently on the near approach of the ultimate triumph over the rebellion that had been prepared for years in advance; that had been on the verge of success, and that had required for its defeat, exertions the like of which had never been made before. But the presence of one man was especially missed—one whose voice had encouraged them in the beginning of the contest, had cheered them in the dark days of disaster and defeat, had opened their hearts and their purses for the sanitary fund, and had always been ready with inspiriting eloquence when liberty or union demanded his service. Starr King had died in March, and was buried in the yard of his church on Geary street, the city ordinance forbidding burials in the midst of the city being set aside in that special case, so that the sight of his tomb might serve as a daily reminder of him and of his words and works to the people.

SEC. 174. *1865.* The capture of Richmond, the overthrow of the rebellion, the restoration of the federal authority over all the southern states, and the final extinction of slavery in our continent, were received with great rejoicing in San Francisco, and when, a month later, the great-souled president, who had saved the Union, was assassinated by a southern fanatic, a mob collected hastily in the streets and, before the police could prepare for them, entered several democratic newspaper offices, scattered the type and broke the cases. This was the first mob to injure property in San Francisco, and the city treasury had to pay for the damage afterwards. No person was attacked.

The influx of people from the Atlantic states to avoid the dangers, the excitements, and the disagreeable sights common near the seat of war, ceased, and in its stead, so many Californians went east to look after their relatives or property, that for the first time since the American conquest the number of passengers departing by sea exceeded that of the arrivals. The confidence in the future of the Comstock mines declined. The silver yield of Nevada was about as much as in the previous year, but no new bodies of ore were discovered, and those previously opened were certainly approaching exhaustion. At the end of the year the aggregate market price of the mines on the Comstock lode was little more than $5,-000,000, or about one fifth of what it had been two years and a half before. Besides, though the yield was large, the dividends were scanty, and the assessments exceeded them in amount.

In many respects, however, the business of the city was highly profitable. The placers of Idaho and eastern Oregon had nearly reached their highest productiveness. The rainfall of the winter of 1864–5 was twenty-four inches, and the grain crop was so abundant that California gained recognition as an important source of supply for the bread of Europe. The exportation of merchandise amounted to $15,000,000, more than three times as much as it had been ten years before. There was a large increase in the clip of wool and in the planting of new vineyards. Many new houses were built, including important additions to the Lick, Occidental, and Cosmopolitan hotels, which, in their size, as well as in the convenience of their plans, the elegance of their furniture, the management of their servants, and the excellence of their tables, were superior to a like number of hotels in any other city save New York, and equal to that. The bridge across Mission Cove, on the line of Fourth and Kentucky streets, nearly twelve hundred yards-long, was built, at an expense of sixty thousand dollars, thus furnishing access by a short, level, clean and solid road to Potrero Point, which had previously been reached by a detour of several miles, passing near the Mission, on a hilly road, dusty in summer and muddy in winter, along the southern shore of Mission Cove. The construction of this bridge was an important advance towards filling in mud flats covering five hundred acres.

SEC. 175. *Fire Telegraph.* The electric fire-alarm telegraph was established, to give notice of fires more precisely as to place and more promptly as to time than could be done by the watchmen who had been maintained, and who could not see the flames inside of houses, nor when they broke out beyond the hills, nor even on the low land near the City Hall, when the city was covered with dense fog, as it is a hundred evenings or more in the year. This was an important step towards the overthrow of the volunteer fire department, and was resisted by strong political influences, and by numerous crimes such as incendiary fires, false alarms, breaking the fire-alarm boxes, and cutting the wires; but they failed in their purpose.

SEC. 176. *Railroad Purchase.* The Central Pacific railroad company commenced work in 1863, at Sacramento, finished its road to near Dutch Flat, and found that the Sacramento valley road, from Freeport, fifteen miles below Sacramento, to Folsom, where it connected with the road to Shingle Springs, was a troublesome competitor, taking much of the Washoe freight and nearly all the passengers to or from Virginia City, and exercising a dangerous political influence. A bill introduced in the Nevada legislature to give one million dollars to the railroad which should first reach from the Sacramento river to the state line, was welcome to the capitalists interested in the Folsom road, who were confident that they would gain the prize; and was opposed by the friends of the other route. If the first railroad to Virginia City had come from Folsom, the Central Pacific would have lost much of its profitable traffic, and to secure protection against the numerous dangers of this rivalry, the directors of the Central Pacific bought up the majority of the stock of the Sacramento valley road. The transaction was considered a great triumph for them.

SEC. 177. *Earthquake of 1865.* An earthquake, more severe than any felt in thirty years before, visited the city on the eighth of October, cracked the walls and plastering of some weak buildings, frightened many persons, some of them so much that a hundred or more returned to their former homes in the eastern states, for fear of something worse next time, and caused an uneasy feeling in the real estate market for several months.

SEC. 178. *City Slip Debt.* In this year the city was burdened with a debt of a million dollars, imposed because of official blunders committed in the management of the city slip sale in 1853, and in the litigation about it two years later. Very soon after the sale, a serious panic struck the real estate market; the winter was not favorable either for mining or farming; the receipts of gold and the arrivals of passengers fell off; shipping decreased; rents fell; business was dull as compared with previous briskness; and the purchasers were soon sick of their bargains. But they had made their first payment of nearly three hundred thousand dollars, and when the second payment of about six hundred thousand dollars fell due two months after the sale, they still hoped for a revival of business, and besides they did not see how they could avoid payment without sacrificing all that they had paid. After the lapse of another period of two months, when the last payment of three hundred thousand dollars was to be made, they generally refused, though nearly all had taken possession of their lots. Their lawyers told them there was a flaw in the title; that the ordinance ordering the sale was never legally passed; that when the full board of assistant aldermen consisted of eight members, four affirmative votes could not pass an ordinance, even when one of the seats was vacant by resignation. The city tried to cure this defect, by confirming the ordinance, and as possession had been taken and most of the price paid, a valid confirmation was all that the purchasers had a right to demand; but they preferred to get their money back. Their policy was to wait to be sued for the last payment claimed under their notes given to the city for the lots; and their plea in defense was that they had received no consideration, the title being void, and that a void title could not be confirmed. The legislature could have remedied the defect, but the money was wanted. This litigation rendered it certain that these lots would not be filled in and built upon as expected, and injured the value of lots on Commercial street—which ran through the middle of the city slip—between Davis and Sansome. The construction of wharves elsewhere had accommodated shipping; other streets, wider than Commercial, had been built up later, and were provided with better houses; the buildings on the lower part of this street put on a look of ruin and decay; many of them were vacant; and instead of being, as it had been a few years before, the liveliest and the most cheerful, it became the most disconsolate part of San Francisco.

The purchasers having gained the decision that no title passed, brought suit for the money paid; and though they were not entitled in justice to recover, yet the supreme court, after five or six years of litigation, gave decrees in their favor. But before the matter was closed up, a new era of prosperity had commenced, and the purchasers agreed to compromise, taking the lots and something more than they had paid—allowance being made for interest money. Bonds for one million dollars were issued to thirty-five of the purchasers who recovered judgment. Six others commenced suit subsequently; but the city lawyers made a plea not tried before—they averred that the city had never legally received the money, though the supreme court had assumed in the previous judgment that the city council had appropriated the money. But proof was furnished that the ordinance appropriating the money received from these sales had been passed by both boards of aldermen on the same day, and in the second board had not obtained unanimous consent, whereas such consent was necessary if passed on the same day; and the supreme court held that as the money had not been appropriated in compliance with the technicalities, therefore it had never legally come into the possession of the city treasurer, and that when paid out it was not the money of the city but of the city slip purchasers, and they might follow it if they could. This decision saved one hundred and ninety thousand dollars to the city, and when considered from the standpoint of justice and reason, was as absurd as the other. In one case the purchasers who had paid three fourths of the price and had taken possession of the lots were permitted to refuse the offer of the city to make a perfect title to the property; and in the other, citizens were told that the payment to the city treasurer was void, because the ordinance appropriating the money to various purposes was defective. The city creditors paid with money thus illegally appropriated ought to have sued the city for second payment, on the ground that they had never been paid legally; and a judgment in their favor against the city would have completed the circle of absurdity and injustice.

SEC. 179. *1866.* The year 1866 was marked by the tearing down of the buildings on the west side of Kearny street, for the purpose of widening it; by the success of the state harbor commissioners in getting possession of the entire water front from the wharf corporations, which had held control there for fifteen years; by the construction of the extensive wharves and other improvements of the Pacific Mail company, at the foot of Brannan street, to accommodate their steamers, running to China and Panama; by the cutting down of a hill containing 300,000 cubic yards on Rincon Point, to obtain material for filling in water lots near the Pacific Mail wharves; by the opening of Woodward's garden as a pleasure resort for the general public; by the completion of the Sutter street railroad, giving convenient access to a considerable area in the western addition; and by the establishment of the paid fire department and the abandonment of hand fire-engines, those drawn by horses and driven by steam being substituted. The Bay View railroad and the stone dry-dock on Hunter's Point were commenced. Building in the southern part of the city, and land speculation, were very active. The sum of the sales of land within the city limits was $13,000,000. The rainfall, though not above the average, was so distributed as to time that the crops were large. The exports of merchandise were $17,000,000, nearly $3,000,000 more than in any previous year. The yield of the Comstock lode was $15,000,000, but only one tenth was dividend; and as no new bodies of ore were opened, speculation in silver shares was dull, and the sales in the San Francisco board amounted to only $32,000,000, or about two thirds as much as in 1865. The state gained 4,800 inhabitants by the excess of arrivals over departures.

Sec. 180. *Subsidies.* The numerous subsidies given at previous sessions of the legislature to railroads, and the division of the profits among relatively few individuals, stimulated schemes for getting more money from the public treasury in the same way. One of these created a lively excitement throughout the state, and led to the overthrow of the republican domination in the state government. A bill was passed by the legislature to pay $52,000 annually as interest on bonds of the Sacramento and Placerville railroad, and $90,000 on the Western Pacific. The former road, only thirty-six miles long as projected, and twenty-six were already completed, had already obtained $300,000 in El Dorado and Placerville bonds, and to give $1,000,000 from the state treasury for building only ten miles additional road of no service save to a small district, inhabited by not one twentieth of the inhabitants of California, was outrageous. The proposed gift to the Western Pacific was scarcely less objectionable. That company had already obtained a loan of $2,000,000 in federal bonds for thirty years, a gift of 800,000 acres of federal land, $250,000 from San Francisco as a gift, and $400,000 in Santa Clara and San Joaquin county bonds in payment for an equal amount of the company's stock. These subsidies might be put down as worth certainly $2,500,000 in cash, and as the route was only one hundred and twenty-six miles long, nearly level, through a well settled part of the state, and was the western terminal section of the transcontinental railroad, the aid already supplied by the government was abundant. The daily press protested against requiring the people to pay $2,850,000 for the benefit of a few individuals, under the pretense of securing the construction of roads that would be built without further subsidy, or that if built would render no benefit to the state generally; but the legislature was under the control of a corrupt lobby, and the bill was adopted by both houses. Now, as on other occasions, the public interests were saved by the veto power. Governor Low protected the state treasury against this excessive liberality of the legislature.

SEC. 181. *Paid Fire Department.* The volunteer fire department had rendered great service to the city, and had even been indispensable for its preservation, but the time had come when something better was needed. In early years, when families were few, when the rich men were young and active, when nearly all the merchants had their homes in or near their stores, and when all their property was exposed to the flames, the fire companies had included many of the best citizens, but when those men advanced in age, moved out to the suburbs, and put their money in lands, mines, canals, railroads, steamboats, insurance companies and banks, they retired from active service with the fire companies, and other less scrupulous men took their places. The engine houses became the homes of a disreputable class, always ready to run with the machine in payment for free lodgings. As the city grew, and fires became more numerous, the conduct of these men became more troublesome, and the danger from the insubordination greater, so the people's party purchased steam fire-engines and discharged the volunteers, not without bitter opposition from those who liked the old system for the plunder or political influence which it gave them.

SEC. 182. *Kearny Street Widened.* The most notable change in San Francisco in the course of 1866 was the work done in widening Kearny street, which had been previously forty-five and a half feet wide, and now thirty feet more taken from the western side were added, from Market to Broadway, a distance of nearly a mile. At that time the district west of Dupont and north of Washington was much more important in the business of the city relatively than it is now, and people going from that district to any place south of Bush street went by way of Montgomery street, which, because of its wide sidewalks and level grade, was the preferred route for persons passing between the two leading residence districts of "North Beach" and "South Park," as the northern and southern parts of the city were sometimes designated, and for that reason Montgomery street had in 1853 become the fashionable promenade, and afterwards acquired the most elegant shops, and leading hotels, and its lots became the most valuable in the city.

It did not offer room enough, however, for the business that thronged it, and the rapid growth of the city demanded more space for the future. The legislature passed a general act to authorize the widening of streets in San Francisco, with special reference to Kearny street, though without mention of it; in 1865, commissioners were appointed to assess benefits and damages, and a suit to restrain them from acting was defeated, and there was a lively demand for Kearny street lots at improved prices. The next year their report was adopted, and the demolition of the houses along the western side of the street and the construction of others in their places were commenced. When the assessments were made lots near Washington street were worth twice as much a front foot as near Market, but before a year had gone by it was evident that the southern part of the street would get much more than an equal share of the benefit, though this result could not have been foreseen with sufficient confidence to serve as a basis of the official estimates. The new street had some important advantages over Montgomery. It had a greater length of level ground; it was six feet wider; it was nearer the residence districts; its buildings on the west side were more elegant, as a class, and better adapted for the sale of elegant merchandise; it was certain that the eastern side of the street would be rebuilt in equal, if not superior style; it was exempt from the throng of stockbrokers who filled the sidewalks on Montgomery street, and it connected directly with Third street, which might thus be considered as an extension of it. Under these influences, Kearny superseded Montgomery as the preferred street for promenaders and fashionable shops. The accounts for widening the street were closed in 1868, and the total expense was five hundred and seventy-nine thousand dollars, while the aggregate pecuniary benefit to the lot owners directly interested was not less than three million dollars.

SEC. 183. *Outside Lands.* The title of the city to about four thousand acres of land west of Larkin street having been perfected, ordinances were passed to convey it to the parties in possession and to give them deeds for it. In 1853, the city as successor of the pueblo of Yerba Buena, presented its claims to the federal land commission for four square leagues, about seventeen thousand acres, under the Mexican law, giving so much for common or other public purposes to every pueblo or town. The claim was confirmed in 1854 by the land commission for about ten thousand acres, including all that part of the peninsula north of the Vallejo line, which started near the intersection of Fifth and Brannan streets and ran through the summit of Lone Mountain to the ocean. Both parties, the city on one side and the land agent of the federal government on the other, appealed from this decision, and in course of time the case reached the federal circuit court, which on the eighteenth of May, 1865, filed a decree confirming the claim to the city to four square leagues above high water mark, "for the benefit of the lot-holders under grants from the pueblo, town or city of San Francisco, or other competent authority, and as to any residue, in trust for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of the city." An appeal was taken from this decision on behalf of the federal government to the United States supreme court; but on the eighth of March, 1866, congress passed an act confirming the decree, and granting to the city all the title of the United States to the tract described in the decision of the circuit court, with the exception of lands needed for federal reservations; subject to the conditions that all of this land not needed for public purposes, or not previously disposed of, should be conveyed to the persons in possession. The only opposition to the city claim recognized by the law was that by the United States, and when congress granted the federal title to San Francisco, there was no basis for litigation, so the United States supreme court dismissed the appeal, and the decree of the circuit court stood as the true basis of the title. That decision gave the land not already disposed of "in trust for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of the city;" the act of congress gave it for the benefit of "the parties in the *bona fide* actual possession thereof." The inhabitants were many; the people in possession were few, but they had money, political influence, organization, and the legislature passed an act providing that everybody in possession of not more than one hundred and sixty acres, should keep it all. The supervisors passed the Clement ordinance recognizing the ownership of the people in possession, and the McCoppin ordinance, giving deeds to them. Thus a domain which might have been sold for millions of dollars, or given in small lots to ten thousand poor citizens, anxious to secure homes, was bestowed upon a few. The giving of such large areas was not in harmony with the town system of Mexico, and the possessory titles within the limits of the pueblo claim were void under the American law; nor was their recognition consistent with sound public policy, but it received the sanction of the legislatures, councils and courts. The city out of all this vast domain reserved a park of one thousand acres, mostly drifting sand, and some lots for public squares and buildings.

SEC. 184. *1867.* The winter of 1866–67 had brought nearly one half more than the average supply of rain, and among its consequences were a very abundant crop of wheat and the exportation of merchandise to the value of $22,000,000—an increase of $5,000,000 over 1866, and $8,000,000 over 1865. The merchandise exports of San Francisco had now reached a level with the gold production of the state. The gold yield of Idaho had commenced to decline, but it was still about $5,000,000 annually, and the loss was more than compensated by the rise of the silver yield of Nevada to $18,000,000, and the distributions of $3,800,000 silver dividends in San Francisco, the last figure being twice as great as in 1866. The large bonanza at Gold Hill came into view, and gave birth to the hopes, which were realized a few years later, that the profits obtained by the Gould & Curry and the adjacent mines from 1863 to 1866 would be surpassed. The sales of mining stocks were twice as large in the aggregate as in the previous year, and the San Francisco board found it necessary for the accommodation of its customers to move to new rooms in the Merchants' Exchange on California street. The completion of that building and of the Bank of California, and the transfer of the business connected with the two stock boards, fixed the financial center on California street, between Battery and Montgomery, where land soon rose to be worth $3000 per front foot, a price considerably greater than that demanded previously. The work of rebuilding the west side of Kearny and relaying the pavement and sidewalk had now advanced so far, the street had attracted so much traffic, and its lots advanced so much in value, that the improvement of widening it had become an assured and high success.

The fever of land speculation was so active that the old steam excavator could not keep pace with the demand for grading, so a new one was imported and set to work. The bridge a mile long across Islais Cove, and the Bay View railroad, were completed, thus furnishing cheap access to an extensive district on the southern water front. The stone dry-dock at Hunter's Point was finished at the same time. The growth of the city was most active south of Market street, and the steam cars which had been running on that street to the Mission for seven years, were now stopped in accordance with the general demand, and horses were substituted. The sale of the Beideman tract of one hundred and sixty acres, north of Turk street and west of Larkin, at auction in small lots, enabled hundreds to buy homesteads at prices much less than the land commanded a few years later. The claim of the De Haro family to the Potrero was defeated in the United States supreme court, and the people in possession were protected in their titles. A contract was made for a sea wall of stone along part of the water front, at the rate of $278 per lineal foot, implying that the entire cost of the projected wall would be about $1,500,000 a mile. In this year the Almshouse, Trinity church, and the Howard Presbyterian church on Mission street near Third, were finished.

SEC. 185. *Railroad Progress.* The progress of the Central Pacific railroad became a matter of great interest in 1867 to San Franciscans, who had previously believed that it would not in many years surmount the Sierra Nevada. Now they saw a strong probability that the iron track would be finished across the continent within a few years, thus reducing the time between San Francisco and New York from twenty-four to seven or eight days for ordinary travel, and relieving passengers from the discomforts of a long sea voyage, including two weeks in the tropics. This was the great work to which they had long looked forward as necessary to the proper development of the industry and commerce of California, and as the time for its completion drew near they were filled with confidence that the city and state were about to enter a new era of prosperity more brilliant than any known in the past. Their confidence stimulated all kinds of business, and the general feeling, especially in the real estate market, was one of high exhilaration.

SEC. 186. *Democratic Victory.* The republican party which had held control of the state government for six years, and had a majority of 18,000 at the presidential election in 1864, lost its power by nominating George C. Gorham for governor. At the preceding session of the legislature he had urged the adoption of the bill to give $2,850,000 to the Western Pacific and Placerville railroad companies, and thus had given serious offense to influential republican journals and to many of the voters; but, on account of his talent for public speaking and partisan management, he was the favorite of the professional politicians in the party, and they thought they could defy all opposition. They over-estimated their power. An independent republican ticket hostile to railroad subsidies was nominated; the democrats adopted a platform denouncing subsidies as a great danger; a campaign pamphlet was published with a colored map, showing the immense areas of land in California granted by congress to aid the Central Pacific, the Southern Pacific, and the California and Oregon railroads; and though these lands were for the most part of little value, and the grants of them were moderate aids to enterprises of much service to the development of the industry and commerce of the state, still the maps were well fitted to increase the popular discontent provoked by the unreasonable plans for money subsidies. The republicans allowed themselves to be put in the position of advocates of subsidies, and they were defeated. H. H. Haight, democratic candidate for governor, and a legislature of the same party, were elected on the platform of "economy, purity and reform."

For the first time in ten years the democrats succeeded in defeating the candidate of the taxpayers or people's party for mayor. At the preceding session of the legislature the municipal election had been transferred by the republicans from the spring to the fall, so that it was held on the day fixed for choosing state and federal officers. The pretext for making the change was that there were too many elections; but a strong, if not the predominant, motive was the desire to increase the influence of the national party organization in the choice of the city officials, and thus break down the local people's party in San Francisco. The republicans altered the law, expecting to be the gainers by it, as for years their ticket had been the chief rival of the taxpayers'; but the blundering of the state republican convention in its platform and nominations, and the skillful use by the democrats of the opportunity offered to them, gave to the latter party the lead in San Francisco (as well as in the interior of the state), and Frank McCoppin, their candidate for mayor, became the head of the city government, the only person elected to that place between 1857 and 1874 inclusive, under nomination by a convention wearing the name of a national political party.

SEC. 187. *1868.* The exhilaration which had filled the San Francisco real estate market in 1867 became an intoxication towards its end, and so continued through the next year. Land speculation, especially in the southern part of the city, was extremely active. The real estate sales ran up to twenty-seven million dollars, an increase of ten million dollars over the previous year. Several scores of homestead associations bought up large tracts, going, in some cases, six miles out on the peninsula, or nearly as far beyond Oakland, and sold the lots at double or treble the cost to ignorant and deluded purchasers, who made their payments in small monthly installments, while two or three speculators usually divided the bulk of the profits. It was now certain that the railroad across the continent would be finished before 1870. Two great corporations, endowed by congress with immense grants of land and loans of bonds, means that were not available until considerable distances had been built, working from the opposite ends, and entitled to all they could build respectively, were running an unexampled race in laying track at the rate of a mile a day or more. The attention of the nation was fixed upon the race, the road, and California. The gain of the state by immigration in the twelve-month was thirty-five thousand, surpassing anything since the first few years after the gold discovery.

The railroad from Vallejo to Sacramento was finished, and the journey between the metropolis and the political capital of the state was reduced from eight hours to four and a half. This road was also connected by a track four miles long from Adelante to Suscol with the Napa valley road, thus giving continuous steam communication from San Francisco to Calistoga, which thus became a prominent pleasure resort—for a time the most prominent on the coast. The completion of the railroad from Sacramento to Marysville, and the subsidy of three hundred thousand dollars in the stock of the San José railroad, given by the city of San Francisco to the southern Pacific railroad company to aid the construction of thirty miles of road from San José to Gilroy, and the completion of the stone dry-dock at Hunter's Point, all contributed to the land excitement.

SEC. 188. *Earthquake of 1868.* The year 1868 is memorable for the severest earthquake felt in the city since the American conquest. It came on the twenty-first of October, about eight A. M.; killed five persons by throwing loose bricks from the tops of buildings upon them as they were walking in the street, and led as many more to break bones by jumping out of second and third-story windows. No person was severely injured in a house, nor was the better class of structures damaged, but a dozen brick buildings which had weak foundations, on the made ground were cracked so as to be untenantable; and many people affected by the news of the great Peruvian earthquake on the thirteenth of the previous August, with its tidal wave that swept a city to destruction, were seriously frightened, so that hundreds slept in the public squares for several nights. Fears were entertained that there would be a serious decline of real estate and a decrease of population, but the scare passed off in a few weeks; and since that time earthquakes have been less frequent and severe than before.

SEC. 189. *San Joaquin Valley.* The winter of 1867–68 brought a rainfall of thirty-eight inches, or half as much more than the quantity necessary for a good crop, and the consequence was an exceptionally good harvest. The state had now had abundant rains for four successive seasons, giving great profit to the farmers, and leading to a doubling of the area under cultivation. The spread of tillage was especially noticeable on the eastern side of the San Joaquin valley, between the Stanislaus and Merced rivers, a region previously considered almost valueless for any purpose save pasturage. The soil is a sandy loam, and the rainfall is one third less than in San Francisco; so that in dry years the grain crops if not irrigated are poor, but for four seasons the rains had been so abundant that the clay soils near the coast had been almost unmanageable on the account of the excess of water, and the farmers were driven to try the sandy plains. Lands, which for years had found no purchasers at the federal price of one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre, were now in demand at twenty dollars. Half a million acres were bought up in two years. Instead of being worthless, as was supposed, it was found to be in some respects the best wheat land in the state; for, though not so rich as some other, it would produce more in proportion to the labor devoted to it. A single plowman, with a gang plow, with six shares, and six spans of horses, could work eight or ten acres a day; whereas, on heavy, hilly land, one plow is as much as a man can manage. The cultivation of this land made it necessary to build a railroad to get access to it, and the increase in the value of the farms exceeded the cost of the road. In 1866, Stanislaus county was the seventeenth wheat county in the state, producing only one hundred and fifty thousand bushels; and in 1868 the first, producing two million three hundred thousand bushels.

SEC. 190. *1869.* Among the notable events of 1869 were the completion, in May, of the connection by rail between Sacramento and New York; the completion four months later of the Western Pacific road from Sacramento to Oakland; the culmination of the real estate excitement in the spring, and a consequent grand panic in real estate; an intense excitement about the newly discovered silver mines at White Pine, and the disappointment of nearly all the adventurers who went thither to make their fortunes; the failure of a scheme to extend Montgomery street in a direct line from Market to the Potrero; the opening of New Montgomery street parallel with Third; the cutting of Second street through Rincon Hill; the sale by the state of the tide and submerged lands on both sides of Hunter's Point; the introduction of free postal delivery; the building of the Grand Hotel, the Pacific bank, the Savings and Loan bank, Friedlander's block, the rolling mill and the California theater; and the transfer of the slaughter houses from Brannan street beyond Mission creek to the present Butchertown, built on piles near the south shore of Islais Cove.

SEC. 191. *Pacific Railroad.* The driving of the last spike of the Central-Union Pacific railroad near Salt Lake, on the ninth of May, giving a continuous iron track from Sacramento to New York, was recognized and celebrated as one of the great events of the age, but to San Francisco it did not bring the anticipated benefits. Her citizens had calculated upon too much, and had invested their money on the basis not of realized results, but of extravagant expectations; and when the completion of the road compelled a comparison between results and expectations, it was found that the prices of land generally, and especially in the suburban districts, were far beyond any permanent demand. Everybody had wanted to sell, and nobody to buy; and a general and severe panic ensued. Many of the losers gave vent to their vexation by complaints that the Pacific railroad was a damage to San Francisco; that the peninsular position of the city did not permit her to profit by railroads; that she had been built up by steamboat traffic and could not prosper after it was destroyed; that the cars from the Atlantic states could not be expected to come round the southern arm of San Francisco bay, that therefore some town on the eastern or northern shore of the bay—either Vallejo, Benicia, Oakland or Saucelito—must be the main terminus of the railways of the Pacific slope; and that as the network of tracks would extend every year, so would the relative importance of San Francisco decline. For thirteen years the prices of real estate and the amount of sales had risen steadily and rapidly; and now so soon as the great road for which California had prayed as necessary for the proper development of her natural wealth, and for the foundation of a new era of prosperity to surpass that of the gold discovery, was completed, there was a panic more severe than that which accompanied the decline of the placers after 1853. The opening of the railroad between Sacramento and Oakland by way of Stockton, in September, made no perceptible improvement in the situation.

The Central Pacific company was considered hostile to San Francisco, whose capitalists had refused to subscribe to its stock when it was about to commence work, whose representatives had opposed county subsidies to it in the legislature, whose council had refused to issue the bonds ordered to be given to it by the legislature, and whose public journals had been cool or unfriendly to it. The company had its chief office at Sacramento, and had acquired a large tract of land, supposed to be valuable for terminal purposes, at Oakland.

While business was in confusion on account of the extravagant over-speculation in lots—a mistake that deprived a large majority of the industrious, well-to-do people of a considerable part of their imaginary wealth, and reduced to poverty many of those who had gone into debt, there were serious disturbances in various branches of business, in consequence of the transition of transportation from steamer to rail. Much of the travel and freight between New York and the interior of the state ceased to pass through San Francisco, which thus lost a considerable part of her revenue.

SEC. 192. *Vallejo Railroad.* There was an opposition to the Central Pacific railroad between San Francisco and Sacramento, but it came from Vallejo. The California Pacific railroad from that place to the state capital had been opened in February, and a fast boat had been purchased to run between Vallejo and the metropolis. In time, cost and comfort, this route was preferable to any other; but the influence of this opposition to the Sacramento railroad company was not less dangerous to San Francisco, in the opinion of many business men. Distinguished engineers in the army, navy, coast survey and civil life, had publicly expressed the opinion that there was a much better place for a city at Vallejo or Benicia than at San Francisco. The soil in the neighborhood is richer; the anchorage more secure; the natural site and water front better; access to the heart of the Sacramento valley more convenient, and the water deep enough for large vessels. That place grew rapidly; there was a lively demand for its lots; the construction of the railroad wharves and warehouses gave facilities for shipping wheat, and in the crop year of 1869–70 thirty-three vessels were loaded there for Europe. The bold and active men controlling the California Pacific company, supported by the European capitalists who had advanced the money to build the road, spoke loudly and confidently of the other roads they would construct to make Vallejo the great railroad center of the state, of the factories to be built, of the combinations to be made with steamship companies whose ocean steamships should have the terminus of their route at Vallejo. Fears that these assertions might be verified helped the panic.

SEC. 193. *Silver Mines.* The production of silver by the state of Nevada was only fifteen million dollars in 1869, the same as in 1868, and four millions less than in 1867; but there was some compensation for this in the discovery of the mines at White Pine in the previous year, of a large deposit of argentiferous chloride, some of it yielding ten thousand dollars a ton, surpassing in richness and facility of reduction the croppings of the Ophir mine when the wealth of the Comstock was opened. Before much exploration could be done on Treasure Hill, the intense cold of winter at an elevation of nine thousand feet above the sea checked the work while the miners were still drifting in an immense mass of silver ore as rich as any mentioned in the records of Mexico or Peru; and California and Nevada waited impatiently for spring to permit an active resumption of labor and the removal of the doubt whether the Comstock lode was to be reduced to relative insignificance—a result predicted confidently by some of those who had visited the new place. So soon as the roads were open for travel there was a rush of adventurers to White Pine, where they found promises of a wonderful silver yield. This district had made more progress in three months than Washoe had in three years, and the ore was more than three times as rich. The production of the year was four million dollars. Those who were too late to get hold of rich mines looked to city lots for their profits. Treasure City, Hamilton and Sherman became important towns, and leading speculators in real estate were millionaires in the general estimation for a brief period; but they and the mine owners were soon doomed to disappointment. The chloride deposits did not last long. Mining engineers said there was no fissure vein; there was no lode running far and deep like the Comstock. The miners cut through the few large ore bodies into the barren rock; the smaller deposits promised little profit; the towns collapsed; the throng of adventurers ceased, and White Pine suddenly sank from the second place among the silver districts of Nevada to the fourth.

SEC. 194. *Street Changes.* The success in widening Kearny street having, at an expense of less than six hundred thousand dollars, added more than four million dollars to the value of lots on Kearny and Third streets, led to various schemes to bring up Montgomery street. The first of these was to extend it in a straight line to the Potrero, a distance of a mile, cutting diagonally through the blocks on the line. This scheme was carried through the supervisors and passed over the mayor's veto; commissioners were appointed, and they made an elaborate report, with estimate of the expense, but the engineer, in laying off the map of the work, assumed incorrectly that the blocks intersected were exactly of the size proposed in the original survey. The consequence was that the line of the new street was not straight, but showed a little offset like a saw-tooth at every street crossing. This defeated the enterprise, causing serious loss to those who had bought property on the line, in the expectation of the completion of the work.

So soon as the project of extending Montgomery in a straight line was abandoned, another scheme came to the surface. This was to open New Montgomery street, between Second and Third, and parallel to them from Market street to the bay. A company of capitalists bought up the land on the line from Market to Howard, opened the street so far, and built the Grand Hotel to give value to the adjacent property and attract business men to the street; but the enterprise was unprofitable. They had expected that the land would be worth fifteen hundred dollars a foot, and it did not bring as much as its cost to them, which was four hundred dollars, besides lying idle for a long time. One result of the opening of this new street, and of the Second street cut was that the value of Second street, between Howard and Market, previously a good street for fashionable shops and a favorite promenade, was injured seriously—almost destroyed. The idea of extending New Montgomery street southward from Howard was abandoned when the first section of it proved unprofitable.

Another street scheme was the Second street cut. John Middleton, a prominent dealer in real estate, and owner of a large lot on the corner of Second and Bryant, believed that if Second street were cut down through Rincon Hill to such a grade that heavy teams could pass over its line to the vicinity of the Pacific Mail wharf, the southern end of the street would become the site of an active business, and real estate there would greatly advance in price. To carry his enterprise through, he secured an election to the assembly, and there, by his influence as a member of the legislature, notwithstanding the protests of the lot-owners on Rincon Hill against being assessed for the cost of work which would do them serious damage, the bill was passed for reducing the grade between Folsom and Bryant—that is, cutting a deep ravine through Rincon Hill. The work was done, but the predicted benefits failed to make their appearance. The cut or ditch, at one place sixty feet deep, has ugly steep banks, which have slid down in wet weather; the falling dirt has destroyed the sidewalks; the despoiled lot owners have refused to keep the pavement in repair; heavy teams have found it more convenient to pass through other streets in going to and coming from the Pacific Mail wharf; Rincon Hill has lost much of its beauty and all its pre-eminence as a district for fashionable dwellings; the most active advocates of the scheme made nothing by it; and the direct expense of the improvement was three hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars, while the loss to citizens beyond all benefits was not less than one million dollars. Many had to pay for the errors of judgment committed by a few.

A scheme still wilder in its character was brought forward and urged by meetings of lot-owners upon the legislature as a highly meritorious measure. This was to make a nearly uniform grade on Stockton street, from Geary to Clay, for the purpose of giving convenient access for promenaders on that street, between the northern and southern parts of the city. This scheme implied the cutting of a ditch the width of the street for a distance of half a mile, with a depth in one place of eighty feet, in the heart of the city, leaving the houses along the line, not only without access from the street, but on the edge of a cliff which would probably tumble down after the first good soaking in the rainy season. The scheme was defeated and then abandoned.

SEC. 195. *1870.* San Francisco built 1200 new houses, gained 10,000 inhabitants, and prospered in many ways in 1870, but there was general complaint of hard times, because the real estate market had not recovered from its panic of the previous year, and serious fears were felt of the powers and purposes of the two great railroad companies. The average monthly sales of real estate, which had been $3,500,000 in the first half of 1869, fell to $1,300,000 in 1870. There was a lack of confidence in the ability of the capital invested in San Francisco to overcome the combinations and influences that might be brought to the aid of Vallejo and Oakland, the advocates of which towns claimed that, as they had at the beginning of their career taken a large share of the loading of wheat for exportation, so they would in a few years receive cargoes from abroad, and would continue to gain business indefinitely. The California Pacific road was run with such speed that it took nearly all the local traffic; and the company owning it, supported by prominent European capitalists, was recognized as a formidable rival of the Central Pacific. These were now the two great inland transportation companies of California. One was confessedly working to build up Vallejo; the other composed of citizens of Sacramento, was suspected of an intention to make its chief terminus at Oakland. A metropolis without control over, or even an interest in any of the great transportation companies bringing trade to it—a trade for which ambitious rivals, not without power, were making greedy bids—was in an awkward situation.

Among the new buildings of the year were St. Patrick's church (to which Peter Donahue gave a chime of bells, the first in the city), Bancroft's building, and the White House. The grading of Yerba Buena square was commenced as a preparation for the erection of a new city hall; and a beginning was made in the improvement of the Golden Gate Park. A lottery for the benefit of the Mercantile Library was authorized by the legislature in defiance of the constitution, and conducted to a successful termination with a net profit of half a million.

The city took a holiday to witness the blowing up of Blossom rock, a submarine reef, the top of which was five feet below high tide, on the line of Davis street, and three quarters of a mile from North Point. A coffer-dam or hollow cylinder was built on the reef; the water having been pumped out, a shaft was sunk down into the rock and galleries were dug for a length of one hundred and forty feet and a width of forty feet, at a depth of thirty-seven feet below low tide. The miners having completed their part of the work, and twenty-one tons of powder having been distributed in the drifts, on the twenty-third of May, in accordance with public notice, and within sight of myriads of people in boats and on the hills, the charge was exploded, a column of water one hundred feet in diameter was blown several hundred feet up into the air, and that was the end of the most dangerous obstruction to commerce in the bay of San Francisco. The method of submarine excavation used on Blossom rock, invented by A. W. Von Schmidt, a San Franciscan, was first applied in making the entrance of the Hunter's Point dry-dock, and is an interesting addition to the science of engineering.

The rainfall of 1869–70 had been nineteen inches, less than the amount needed to make a good crop; so the harvest was scanty and the farmers generally did not prosper. Railroads were built from Petaluma to Santa Rosa, from Marysville to a point twenty-five miles beyond, on the California and Oregon route, and from Los Angeles to Wilmington. The silver mines of Eureka (Nevada), and the borax deposits found at various places in the same state, attracted much attention in this year, and offered opportunities for the profitable investment of several millions of capital.

SEC. 196. *Census of 1870.* The federal census taken in this year reported a total population of 149,473 in the city, though a year before the estimates in the directory had made out a population of 170,000. There was a common opinion that the census agent had omitted many persons, but his work was official, and in various respects more carefully done than the other. It showed that of the entire number of inhabitants, 75,754 were natives of the United States, 73,719 foreigners; 136,059 whites, 12,022 Chinese, 1330 of negro blood, 54 Indian, and 8 Japanese. About ninety people in a hundred were white, nine Asiatic, and one African. The number of whites born in California was 36,565, or more than a fourth of all the whites; but most of them were minors, for only two years before, among 25,000 registered voters there were not half a dozen natives of the state. The two sexes were about equally divided among the children under sixteen; but over that age there were 52,102 males and 38,316 females, or three to two, and if a count had been made of those over twenty-one the disproportion would have been found considerably greater.

SEC. 197. *French-German War.* The war between Germany and France, for the military and political leadership of continental Europe, excited an intense interest in San Francisco, where the former country had thirteen thousand six hundred and the latter three thousand five hundred of her natives. The Irish, generally, and some Americans, sympathized with the French; while the Italians, and many of the Americans of the Anglo-Saxon stock favored the Germans, so there were large parties on each side. When it became evident that France was badly beaten, the French residents poured out their money with great devotion to aid their country, and gave about three hundred thousand dollars—far more in proportion to their number than the Californians had given to the sanitary fund in the American civil war. These contributions astonished France by their liberality, and were acknowledged by the government repeatedly. Madame Mezzara, a French lady long resident of San Francisco, who, having gone east to serve as a nurse of the sanitary commission in the American civil war, and upon the invasion of her native land had gone to its assistance in the same capacity, was made the direct recipient of some of the Californian contributions; and her representative character, as well as her experience and efficient labor, gained for her a recognition from the government, which gave her a special gold medal and other honorable decorations; and the San Francisco Art Association, in which her husband was a director, received from the French government a present of a large and valuable collection of plaster casts, taken from the original marbles in the Louvre. The Germans did not feel the necessity of making sacrifices so great, the losses being less on their side, and their government better able to provide for its sufferers, but they collected one hundred and thirty-eight thousand dollars. A number of young men of both nationalities gave up lucrative positions to join their relatives in arms.

SEC. 198. *1871.* The California Pacific railroad company, having completed its branch road to Marysville, annexed the Napa Valley road, and announced its purpose of building roads through Sonoma Valley to

Russian River, and from Woodland northward on the west side of the Sacramento river to Red Bluff, now acquired the boats of the California Steam Navigation company that controlled nearly all the traffic of the inland navigation of the state, and also bought the Petaluma Valley railroad. About the same time the capitalists of the California Pacific road formed a company to build a road to run from the northern part of the Sacramento Valley to Ogden, and thus compete with the Central Pacific. It is impossible to find out how much of this plan was seriously meant, but before anything further could be done, the directors of the Central Pacific, to rid themselves of a bothersome, if not a dangerous rival, bought the majority of the shares in the California Pacific company, which then ceased to give trouble as a competing road. In the winter of 1871–72 portions of the railroad west of Sacramento and south of Marysville were washed away by a flood, and the interruption of the traffic was a serious damage to the road and its terminus. The Marysville branch has never been restored, and Vallejo, which had grown with great rapidity for the preceding four years, came to a standstill, and has not yet regained its former prosperity.

When the time approached for electing a governor and other state officers, the republican leaders, taking a lesson from their defeat in 1867, nominated Newton Booth, an enemy of railroad subsidies, for the head of their ticket, and under his lead they recovered power; but, on account of a difference of opinion in reference to the policy to be pursued by the state towards the railroad companies and other corporations, before the close of his term he became the leader of the Independent or Dolly Varden party, which elected him to the federal senate.

On account of the uneasy feeling among the citizens in reference to the terminal business of the railroad, inquiries were addressed to the directors frequently whether they intended to bring their cars into the city, and they replied that they could not afford to run seventy miles round the southern arm of the bay with their regular trains from the east; but if the means to build a bridge at Ravenswood were supplied, so that the distance would not be greater than by way of Oakland, the cars would come into the city. Thereupon a proposition was introduced into the board of supervisors to take a popular vote upon the question whether three million dollars should be given as a subsidy to aid the construction of a bridge, but the ordinance was voted down.

The Ravenswood scheme having been abandoned, for a time at least, a plan was brought forward for the construction of a bridge from Potrero Point or Hunter's Point to Alameda, a distance of five miles. The bay is there in mid-channel fifty feet deep, and the current strong; and it was estimated that a permanent bridge would cost fifteen million dollars; and as neither the company, the city, the state, nor congress, wished to spend any such sum, that idea came to nothing, although it was urged persistently by several public journals.

SEC. 199. *Hawes.* Horace Hawes, a millionaire, died in March. Some months before his death, he had made a deed, giving nearly all his property, valued at several millions, for the endowment of a university at Redwood, and a school of the mechanic arts in San Francisco. The gifts were accompanied by complex and burdensome conditions and, being subject to modification by the grantor at any time during his life, were in the nature of bequests, and subject to the same need of confirmation by a probate court as a will. He was a stingy, quarrelsome, suspicious, unpopular man; and in his will allowed out of his large fortune not more than enough to his wife for a merely comfortable maintenance of herself and son, though the latter was to receive about thirty thousand dollars after he should reach the age of thirty years. More than ninety-five per cent. of the estate was to be given for public purposes. Mrs. Hawes was esteemed as much as he was disliked, and when she contested the will, the jury promptly rendered a verdict that he was not of sound mind, though he was in no respect insane. His deed was in keeping with its conduct for the previous twenty-five years, during all of which time he had been a successful business man, an acute lawyer, a prominent citizen of San Francisco, considered worthy to be intrusted with difficult and important public affairs. He was appointed prefect in 1849, and elected state senator in 1856 and 1864; and as senator he was author of the consolidation bill or city charter of 1856, and of the act for the registration of voters—two of the most original and beneficent statutes ever enacted in California. His superior capacity was recognized and his influence accepted in the legislature by his associates, notwithstanding their indifference or dislike to him.

SEC. 200. *1872.* The continuation of the real estate panic, the popular agitation against the grant of Goat Island to the Central Pacific railroad company for a terminus, and a greater excitement in the mining stock market than any before observed, were among the events of 1872. The legislative apportionment required by the constitution to give representation in the legislature proportioned to the number of inhabitants in the various counties, as shown by the census of 1870, was defeated by the mining counties with help and encouragement from Sacramento and Stockton; and San Francisco, which was entitled to one fourth of the members of the senate and assembly, had to wait two years before the bill could be passed, and she could obtain justice.

SEC. 201. *Goat Island.* The relation of the city to the Central Pacific company continued to be a matter of absorbing interest. The supervisors having refused to give a subsidy for a bridge at Ravenswood, the company urged its application previously made to congress for a permission to occupy Goat Island. Little attention had been given to the idea of making a terminus at the island; but now the opinion prevailed that the establishment of the terminal business there, with a bridge to the Oakland shore, and numerous warehouses and wharves on the island would result in serious, if not immense damage to San Francisco. The press and public meetings denounced the scheme, and a committee of one hundred prominent citizens was organized to take proper measures for protecting the public interests supposed to be endangered by the bill.

Goat Island had been reserved by the government of the United States for military purposes, and the federal army engineers in response to an inquiry whether there was any objection to the occupation of the island as a railroad terminus, replied that such occupation would seriously diminish the military value of the position which might become very important if some hostile vessel should succeed in passing through the Golden Gate. The coast survey engineers, when requested to give their opinion, said that any bridge or solid causeway from the Oakland shore to Goat Island would check the currents along the eastern shore of the bay, cause the deposition of a large amount of sand and mud, diminish the tidal area, reduce the amount of tide water flowing out of the Golden Gate with the ebb, and lead to a shallowing of water on the bar, thus injuring the value of the harbor.

While matters were in this condition, a delegation of citizens from St. Louis, interested in the Atlantic and Pacific railroad, which had a franchise and land grant from congress to cross the continent about the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude, came to San Francisco to solicit a subsidy for their road, which they promised should enter the city by the peninsula. This party was warmly welcomed, and the committee of one hundred received their propositions with much favor; but after a few weeks the idea began to prevail that the Atlantic and Pacific company had no substantial foundation, and that the subsidy of $10,000,000 demanded by them would be thrown away. A division of opinion in the committee followed; the minority adhered to the plan of aiding the Atlantic and Pacific company indirectly if not directly; the majority advised a compromise with the Central Pacific. It was agreed that the latter company should abandon the application for Goat Island, build a bridge at Ravenswood, and construct a road along the bay shore east of San Bruno mountain to Mission cove within eighteen months, make the main terminus of the Trans-Continental, San Joaquin Valley and Southern Pacific roads in the city, and when authorized by law extend a track from South Beach to North Beach, and deliver merchandise along the extension without extra charge. The city, on the other hand, was to give a subsidy of $2,500,000 in her bonds to the company. This compromise, failing to command the favor of the people or of the supervisors, was abandoned, and in its place a scheme was brought forward to give $10,000,000 for the construction of a railroad to the Colorado, where it should connect with whichever company should first reach that river from the other side. After an acrimonious campaign both parties were defeated, a result with which the citizens generally have since been well pleased; for the cars now run to the Colorado without help from the city, and the eastern companies which made loud promises in 1873, that they would build hundreds of miles of road every year on the southern routes across the continent, have for years done nothing.

SEC. 202. *Belcher Bonanza.* The greatest excitement known up to that time in the San Francisco mining stock market was caused in the beginning of 1872 by the discovery of the large size of the rich ore deposit opened in the Crown Point and Belcher mines in the previous year, and by the simultaneous finding of a rich body of ore in the Raymond & Ely mine at Pioche. The consequence of these developments was an advance that far exceeded anything previously observed even among the speculative Californians. The aggregate value of the silver stocks on the San Francisco market was seventeen millions in January, twenty-four in February, twenty-six in March, thirty-four in April, and eighty-one in May, a gain of sixty-four millions in five months—no slight addition to the wealth of a city of two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants in so brief a period. Unfortunately, this wealth did not stick. Suddenly the fever was followed by a chill; in ten days there was a decline of sixty millions, and hundreds that had considered themselves rich found themselves bankrupt. There was, however, no mistake about the new ore bodies. The Gold Hill bonanza yielded altogether over eighty millions, and the Pioche district turned out eight millions in 1872. The stock sales of the year ran up to two hundred millions, or about twice as much as in 1871, and four times as much as in 1870.

SEC. 203. *Diamond Fraud.* The latter half of 1872 was marked by another excitement which threatened for a time to throw even the wonderful silver mining stocks into insignificance. A report was circulated that an extensive and wonderfully rich diamond field had been discovered in the interior of the continent, though the precise situation was kept secret. One rumor said it was in Arizona, another in Utah. The recent opening of the diamond fields of South Africa, and the reports of the great wealth amassed there by many individuals after a few months of labor, prepared the public to be swindled by one of the most adroit schemes ever devised to gull an ignorant or excitable community. The schemers showed no haste or lack of confidence. They went to leading capitalists of San Francisco, brought the alleged discoveries before them, showed specimens of the rough diamonds —they were stones from Brazil and South Africa, bought for the purpose—and proposed the formation of a company, with the understanding that the matter was to be carefully withheld from the public until the federal mining law could be amended so as to recognize the validity of mining claims for diamonds, and to authorize the issue of patents for them. This proposition demanded a very trifling advance of money from the capitalists, left its expenditure in their own hands, gave abundant time and opportunity for investigation, and was so business-like that no doubt was entertained of the good faith of the promoters. The law in reference to patents for mines as adopted in 1866 was amended on the tenth of May, 1872, so that in addition to "gold, silver, cinnabar or copper," previously mentioned, it should also include "lead, tin, or other valuable deposits." Thus the trap was ready, but some of the bait was still lacking; so a couple of men went to London, bought a considerable supply of rough diamonds, including large and small, and even some of the diamond dust obtained from South Africa, and salted the stuff in the place selected in Colorado—for it was in that territory, and not in Arizona or Utah that the scene was laid—and came on to San Francisco, where their friends had got up a party, including several gentlemen who pretended to be mining experts, and Henry Janin, a mining engineer of good repute for honesty, capacity, and knowledge.

The party having arrived upon the field found the diamonds where they had been salted, and found them with an ease that should have provoked distrust. Janin had no experience in diamond mining; his suspicions had not been aroused; he assumed that he had a diamond field before him, and wrote his report on that basis. He did not explain the formation or the precautions to prevent deception by salting, but devoted much of his attention to the discussion of the question whether with a field so extensive as that over which the diamonds had been found, and their abundance, as shown by the fact that for the time employed, without any facilities for washing, the value of the diamonds obtained was one hundred dollars for every hour of each person, the price would not fall to a trifle when working should be commenced on a large scale with every needful preparation. The capitalists interested believed the report, and the stock of the diamond company, which was not to be put upon the market until all doubt of any mistake had been removed, was nearly ready to be offered to a highly excited public, when the exposure came. Information of the situation and character of the diamond diggings had been sent to Clarence King, who, under order of the federal government, had made a hasty geological survey of the country along the fortieth parallel of latitude, including the diamond region, and as he had seen none of the diamond-bearing rock formation there, he suspected a fraud, visited the place without delay, and after a brief examination satisfied himself that the ground had been salted. He found diamonds where the ground had been dug, especially about large stones that served as marks, but none elsewhere. Some of the Colorado diamonds having been previously shipped to London, were there recognized as African stones. The story of the purchases of African and Brazilian diamonds months before was published. The exposure coming almost simultaneously from two sources threw a chill upon the excitement, and the fraud came to an end before the general public could be victimized. Those who suffered were nearly all rich men. It was so managed that there was no judicial investigation of the affair; but three or four prominent mining speculators had the credit with the general public of being parties to the plot, though they protested that they had been deceived.

SEC. 204. *1873.* The transfer of the residence of the Californian directors of the Central Pacific railroad from Sacramento to San Francisco, the expenditure of a large sum for filling in the railroad terminal lands in Mission cove, and the construction of a large boat to transport laden freight cars across the bay, were accepted as conclusive evidences that the apprehensions previously entertained for years, of hostility on the part of the directors to the metropolis, were greatly exaggerated, if not baseless. The men who owned a controlling interest in the twelve hundred miles of railroad having become citizens of San Francisco, their interests were considered as identified with those of the city. A large part of the opposition shown by the officials and press of the city towards them had been the result of distrust; a natural effect of ignorance of the men, perhaps not unmixed with chagrin that such an immense enterprise had fallen into the hands of residents of a provincial town, while the capitalists of the metropolis had refused to take any part in it, and had predicted ruin for those engaged in it.

Five years had now elapsed since the completion of the road, and the fears of the friends of San Francisco, and the predictions of ruin by its enemies, had made no progress towards fulfillment. The city never grew more rapidly. According to Langley's estimates, there was an average gain of about eight per cent. a year in the population; bnt no reference to statistics was necessary to get conclusive evidence of the general prosperity. New buildings, larger and more costly than any before erected were numerous. Though some of the outside land could not be sold for the prices paid in 1868, yet lots in the leading business streets and in the preferred residence districts commanded higher figures than ever before. While San Francisco thus flourished, the towns for which rivalry had been claimed gained no metropolitan character. Vallejo, Benicia, and Saucelito, lost the importance gained in public estimation by a brief excitement among a portion of the community. Oakland grew rapidly, but its business was suburban, though many of its property holders did not give up the hope of an independent traffic, to come with the completion of their artificial harbor.

SEC. 205. *Oakland Harbor.* The protest of San Francisco against the grant of Goat Island to the railroad company was so emphatic that the bill, after adoption in the lower house of congress, was abandoned in the senate. For the purpose of providing a terminus without sending the cars across the bay in a boat, congress ordered a survey of San Antonio creek at Oakland, to ascertain whether a deep harbor could be constructed there. The army engineers made a favorable report, and submitted a plan for an artificial harbor three miles long, three hundred yards wide, and about twenty-five feet deep, and this project then adopted has since then advanced far towards completion, appropriations having been made for it nearly every year out of the federal treasury.

SEC. 206. *Dolly Varden.* The approaching election of another federal senator to succeed Cornelius Cole, whose term was to expire in March, 1875, gave an additional interest to the political canvass of 1873, when all the assemblymen and half the senators were to be chosen. The republican leaders committed blunders similar to those of 1867, when the state went over to the democrats; but the result now was the triumph of a third party, self-styled Independent, and nicknamed the Dolly Varden, which promised to protect the state against monopolies, to regulate the fares and freights on railroads, to establish a state system of irrigation, and to manage the government for the benefit of the people. The new organization received much aid from the secret order of grangers or patrons of husbandry which, though almost unknown before suddenly spread through the agricultural districts; and notwithstanding its denial of partisan purposes and its exclusion of partisan subjects from the proceedings of its lodges, became indirectly the source of a strong political influence. The independent party proved to be stronger than either of the others in San Francisco, and the state generally;

but failing to get complete control of the state government, could not carry out its favorite reforms, and two years later it finally dissolved, leaving its members to return to the national parties with which they had previously associated. It succeeded in electing Newton Booth, its most eloquent speaker, to the federal senatorship.

SEC. 207. *1874.* The year 1874 was marked by a large immigration from the East; by the opening up of the consolidated Virginia bonanza in the Comstock lode; by a stock excitement that surpassed those of 1863 and 1872; by the publication of James Lick's deed giving nearly all his property for public purposes; by the removal to San Francisco of the chief offices of the Central Pacific railroad company from Sacramento; and by the commencement of work on the Palace Hotel. Among the minor events of the twelvemonth were the discovery of serious and disgraceful frauds in the offices of the license collector, coronor, public administrator, and assessor, and the increase of the police force from one hundred to one hundred and fifty men.

SEC. 208. *Large Immigration.* The gain of the Pacific states and territories by immigration was forty-six thousand—eleven thousand more than in 1873 or 1868, when the number of passengers had been greater than in any year since 1852. The main causes of this throng were the depression of business on the Atlantic slope, the stimulus given to industry in California by the large production of silver in

Nevada, and the favorable condition of agriculture. Such prostration of business in the eastern states had never before been suffered. Thousands of manufacturing establishments had closed or discharged some of their workmen; the construction of railroads had almost ceased; wages had fallen; the supply of labor far exceeded the demand at the current rates; the market price of land had declined greatly; and there had been a decrease of one third in the immigration from Europe. On the other hand, California was in the midst of exceptional prosperity. Within three years there had been an increase of nearly one half in the area under cultivation. The extension of the railroad to the southern end of the San Joaquin valley had given facilities for transporting to market the products of a large region practically inaccessible before; and farmers were now convinced that good crops of grain could be grown on large areas previously supposed to be almost worthless. The winter of 1873–74 brought a good supply of rain, and was followed by an abundant wheat harvest. With the help of this stimulus, one hundred and forty miles of railroad were built in this year.

SEC. 209. *Consolidated Virginia Bonanza.* The Gold Hill bonanza had now reached the height of its splendor, and the Crown Point and Belcher were paying immense dividends. In three years and a half the two mines had taken out more than forty million dollars, a result previously unapproached in the experience of Washoe. While they were still at the flood tide of their prosperity, the still greater bonanza of the Consolidated Virginia was found near the northern end of the lode, and in May it began monthly dividends of three hundred thousand dollars. Every week brought news from the advancing drifts, cross-cuts and winzes, and proved the ore body to be larger and richer. Experienced miners, who were represented as trustworthy experts, expressed the belief that the ore in sight would yield fifteen hundred million dollars. The excitement was intense; the aggregate value of the Comstock shares, as indicated by the quotations of the market, rose at the rate of a million dollars a day for nearly two months, and the year closed when this fever or frenzy of speculation was near its culmination.

SEC. 210. *Flood and O'Brien.* The sudden rise of the firm of Flood & O'Brien to great wealth, was one of those events which could scarcely occur out of San Francisco. J. C. Flood and W. S. O'Brien, had for many years kept a saloon, patronized by merchants and brokers. A good lunch was spread without charge in the middle of the day for customers; and the partners, men of respectable intelligence, character and manners, attended in person behind the bar. Thus they had lived for ten or fifteen years, when they obtained a small interest in a mine at Virginia city. Having been introduced to the market, customers familiar with the management of the mining companies gave them good advice, they began to make a profit on stock operations and formed a partnership with J. W. Mackey and J. G. Fair, who resided at Virginia city, and were miners by occupation. Mackey had worked as a blaster for four dollars a day. The firm, the name of which continued to be Flood & O'Brien after the admission of the two new partners, obtained possession of most of the stock of the Consolidated Virginia mine, at a time when the shares were worth only nine dollars—for some they paid only four dollars; and as there were only 10,700 shares, the whole mine was then worth less than $100,000. Its length was 1310 feet, so the cost to them was less than $100 a lineal foot; and that appeared enough to people who considered that, though more than a quarter of a million dollars had been spent on the property in the previous ten years, it had never returned a cent of dividend; that no ore worthy of notice had ever been found within its limits; and that if it had any ore, the fact could not be ascertained without an additional expenditure that might run into the hundreds of thousands. The future proved that $212,000 were required in assessments before there was any return.

Instead of continuing the sinking of the old shaft that had reached a depth of only 400 feet in the Consolidated Virginia ground, Flood and O'Brien took the cheaper and more expeditious course of running a drift from the Gould and Curry shaft, only 800 feet from their line and 1800 feet deep. This drift, 1200 feet below the surface, led to the discovery of the bonanza extending the whole length of their mine.

The property, after having 10,700 shares in 1871, was divided into two mines, the Consolidated Virginia and California, each of which has now 540,000 shares. The two mines, at the prices paid in January, 1874, were together worth $150,000,000, equivalent to a profit of more than 3000 fold upon the shares for which four dollars a share had been paid in 1871. The limits of this bonanza, or ore deposit, have not yet been found, and it is impossible to predict how much longer this wonderful stream of treasure shall pour into the pockets of San Francisco, though it has already yielded more than $100,000,000.

SEC. 211. *James Lick.* The publication of the deed in which James Lick conveyed nearly all his property, estimated to be worth several millions, to trustees, for the benefit of the people of San Francisco and California, was received with general satisfaction. The gifts were distributed, with much knowledge and judgment, for the advancement of astronomy, the establishment of a mechanical arts school, a free bath-house, an old ladies' home, other institutions for the relief of suffering indigence, and the erection of various works of art; and after the payment of the specific appropriation, including some to his relatives, the residue of the estate was to be equally divided between the San Francisco Academy of Sciences, and the society of California Pioneers. Regret was felt that the sum allowed to the relatives was not greater, only twenty-six thousand dollars being given in all to his son, his sister, his two half-brothers, his two nieces and a nephew, all of whom needed his bounty and had good claims upon it. Though the deed was absolute in form, it was changed in the following year.

SEC. 212. *1875.* The year 1875 was eventful for San Francisco. It brought the culmination of the stock excitement that began in the previous summer; a new deed from James Lick, giving his estate to the people in a new form; the defeat of the Calaveras water scheme; the failure of the bank of California; the death of Mr. Ralston; the destruction of Virginia City by fire; the completion of the Palace hotel; the establishment of the bank of Nevada; the opening of Montgomery avenue; the advancement of Market street near Third to a rivalry with Kearny as a fashionable promenade; and an immigration larger than any since 1850.

Many circumstances concurred to stimulate immigration to the Pacific states, and among these the continued prostration of nearly all kinds of business on the Atlantic side was prominent. Myriads of families who had never known want before were now pinched for the ordinary comforts of life. The young men, seeing no satisfactory future before them in their old homes, when looking for new ones were dazzled by the account of the marvelous production of the Comstock lode, the rapid growth and accumulation of wealth at San Francisco, the recent extension of railroads into large districts of fertile soil previously inaccessible, and the successful establishment in California of various branches of industry not practicable in other parts of the United States, on account of adverse climatic conditions. Under such influences, one hundred and seven thousand people came to California in 1875, leaving a net gain of sixty-four thousand.

SEC. 213. *Calaveras Water Scheme.* On account of general, or at least very loud complaint, in several influential newspapers, that the prices of the Spring Valley company, which furnished all the water distributed through the city by pipes, were oppressive and extortionate, the legislature had passed an act authorizing the municipal administration to provide a supply of water, and an elaborate report was made upon the sources from which it could be obtained. Calaveras valley, situated between two ridges of the Coast mountains, in Santa Clara and Alameda counties, had been bought up by speculators, and was offered to the city for ten million dollars, of which nearly half would have been profit to them. The scheme was defeated by the board of supervisors, and that was the end of it.

While the Calaveras scheme was under consideration, and when it was supposed that a majority of the officials who were to decide upon it were disposed to favor it, the daily "Call" and "Bulletin," in the course of their opposition, asserted that W. C. Ralston, president of the bank of California, was the head of the scheme to force the bad purchase on the city treasury. This charge, not supported at the time by any evidence that could be verified by the public, gave much offense, provoked angry recrimination, and was followed by other attacks upon Ralston, who was accused of having abused his position at the head of the leading bank of the state to exercise a corrupt influence in political affairs. In many respects Mr. Ralston was personally popular, especially with the merchants and capitalists generally, and nothing but strong confidence of other classes in the good motives of the editorial management of the offending journals could have saved them from ruin, so fierce was the animosity provoked against them.

SEC. 214. *Bank of California.* On the twenty-sixth of August, the city was about noon astonished by the news that the Bank of California had closed its doors. So strong was the confidence in its wealth, that people said its only trouble was a temporary scarcity of cash which would end so soon as the mint could coin the bars of bullion in its vaults. Even when Mr. Ralston said the bank had failed completely, and could never re-open its doors, credence was denied to him. According to the reports made not long before, it had a capital of five million dollars, and deposits amounting to as much more, besides almost unlimited credit. It had regularly paid its dividends of about one per cent. a month. The public, even the capitalists, who were its customers and directors, had not heard of any serious losses; failure under such circumstances appeared impossible.

When the directors met after the closing to examine the situation, they were dissatisfied with Ralston, and requested him to resign his position as president. They found that the financial condition of the bank was not what they had supposed it to be, nor what he represented it to be. They had the fullest confidence in his capacity and honesty; they knew that he had made large sums by speculations and investments with different friends before he became president of the bank in 1872 (these were the only great financial successes of his life); they did not know that in company with less reputable men, he had afterwards lost all his individual fortune, and much more; and they supposed that his great wealth placed him above the reach of any temptation to defraud the bank. He had been president three years; the business, the records, and the clerks were under his control; and at the meetings he submitted false statements, and exhibited money borrowed for the occasions, as property of the bank. The executive committee being large stockholders, had much to lose and nothing to gain by a failure to discover his systematic frauds; but suspecting nothing, they did not employ detectives, and without such help they could not have discovered anything. When they found that the bank was insolvent, that the president had used millions of its money in his personal speculations, and had made an over-issue of stock, thus committing a number of felonious offenses, they could not do less than immediately request him to resign. By any other course, they would have made themselves morally, perhaps legally, responsible for his misdeeds. Nor did he dare to refuse.

In the afternoon of the same day, in accordance with his usual custom, he took a bath in the bay at North Beach, and while swimming out into the channel, seemed to be taken with a fit, and commenced to flounder about in the water. A boatman not far off rescued him and took him to the shore, while still warm and breathing, but he was unconscious, and soon died. It was generally supposed that he committed suicide, but a chemical analysis of the contents of his stomach discovered no poison, and the *post mortem* examination of his body indicated congestion of the lungs and brain; so it was officially declared that death was the result of his entrance while very warm into the cold water. The coroner's jury rendered a verdict in accordance with that supposition; and the life insurance companies, which might have saved a considerable sum to themselves if they could have proved that he committed suicide, made no contest. Death was most opportune. His frauds were numerous, and the proof, though then known to only a few individuals, conclusive; the punishment would inevitably be severe, as the failure of the bank and the consequent panic had caused serious loss to the community, and had destroyed many fortunes in and out of San Francisco; he was so extensively known, that under the circumstances it would be almost impossible for him to escape alive; and his great pride would not permit him to submit to the degradation from the highest social honor to the state prison. There was no other secure refuge, save death. It came to his relief at the right moment, and common opinion assumed that it did not come by mere accident, though there has been no satisfactory explanation how it did come.

SEC. 215. *Ralston.* Mr. Ralston, a native of Ohio, born in 1825, received a good common school education, worked for several years at the trade of ship-carpenter in building river steamboats, and left that occupation when nineteen years of age to become clerk in a Mississippi steamer. In 1850 he started for California, but stopped at Panama, having found profitable business there. He became the agent of Garrison & Morgan, owners of a line of steamships connecting New York with San Francisco; filled that place for several years, and was in 1853 promoted to San Francisco, where he was agent for the same firm, which then had the steamers "Winfield Scott," "Yankee Blade" and "Uncle Sam," on the Pacific side. His employers were so well satisfied with him that, when they opened a bank with Mr. Fretz, they took him also as a partner, and all the names appeared in the firm of Garrison, Morgan, Fretz and Ralston. After a lapse of a year the first two drew out, leaving the firm of Fretz & Ralston. This house had been in existence a very brief time, when a panic came and brought embarrassment upon a bank in which many leading merchants made their deposits, and to which they looked for advances. This business was beset by serious risks, and the house which had held it refused to continue in that line. Most of the bankers would not face the danger, and others could not command the confidence. The position was a difficult one in a city in which there was so much speculation and excitement; rare courage, tact, decision and knowledge of men and business were needed. Ralston had them; and the merchants discovered that he had. Soon he had the bulk of the mercantile business, and the more they observed him the stronger was their trust in him.

The firm changed to Donohoe, Ralston & Co. in 1858, and in 1864 Ralston, with others, planned and organized the Bank of California, which immediately took rank as the chief bank of San Francisco, and one of the leading financial institutions of the United States and of the world, for its fame and credit extended to Europe and to the commercial cities of Asia. It was supposed that he was fairly entitled to the office of president, and could have obtained it without difficulty, but he gave his influence to elect D. O. Mills, whose reputation, experience, capital and influence were not unworthy of the place. Mr. Mills being a very reserved man, Ralston had the credit of being the leading man in the institution. It was a magnificent success from the start, possessing the unlimited confidence of the community, and doing an immense business. It paid dividends of one per cent. per month or more, and its stock was in great demand among capitalists. Among its stockholders were a number of millionaires. Their wealth and enterprise, the efforts which they made to protect their property, and the competition into which they were often brought with others by their undertakings led to much denunciation by rivals and defeated opponents, who complained, usually without a particle of reason, that the bank ring controled the finance and legislation of California and Nevada.

On account of the large capital controlled by Mr. Ralston, and the encouragement given to them, especially after the withdrawal of Mr. Mills from the presidency and business of the bank in 1872, it was the custom of men who wished to undertake industrial enterprises to go to him. Every day, competent men and schemers coming from abroad, brought letters of introduction, recommending them to his favor. All these he received and heard; some he assisted. He was largely interested in the Mission woolen mills, the Kimball carriage factory, the Cornell watch factory, and many other manufacturing establishments. He contributed much to the San Joaquin irrigation canal, and to reclamation dykes. He furnished capital for opening New Montgomery street, and for building the California theatre. He projected the Palace hotel, devised its general plan, and with the help of his friend Mr. Sharon, built it. It is the remarkable monument of a very remarkable man, but like most of his other investments, more showy than profitable.

When transacting business, his speech was short and sharp. He asked a brief question, insisted upon an explicit answer, gave his decision in a word or two, and turned to somebody else. The first impression was not favorable upon those who had an abundance of leisure; but if a man impressed him favorably, he was most kind. He was habitually considerate; and for those whom he liked, and they were numerous, he was obliging. No banker in San Francisco had so many warm friends and admirers. He regarded it as one of the duties of his position to entertain much company, and he did this in a princely country mansion, where he had accommodations for a hundred guests at a time. He had a dozen carriages, with fast horses—fast, but not of the fastest, for he would buy no racers or very dear horses—to carry them to and from his house, and to serve them when they wanted to drive for pleasure. Shortly before his death he erected a mansion on Pine street, near Leavenworth, for the purpose of keeping up similar style in the city. It is doubtful whether the like of such hospitality was ever seen before. A rumor, unfounded of course, was started in the east that the bank allowed him one hundred and fifty thousand a year for the entertainment of strangers—a report that could never have got such a start upon the hospitality of any country save California. He gave largely and secretly to many charities. The general estimate of him was that he had in an eminent degree many of the virtues most desirable in a citizen, a neighbor and a friend.

SEC. 216. *Eulogy.* It was not until six months after his death that certain material facts about his management were proved in a judicial investigation, in which it appeared that he owed the bank about four million five hundred thousand dollars; and that the failure of the institution was caused by his use of its moneys for his private purposes, without the knowledge of the directors. These private purposes were nearly all large enterprises, designed to enrich the state, furnish employment to labor, or beautify the city, but they failed to yield a prompt return, and carried him down to bankruptcy, though they remained important and beneficent public improvements.

As Mr. Ralston had been the financial Cæsar of San Francisco, his death was followed by bitter indignation among his friends against those who had attacked him, and his assailants were now accused of having driven him to suicide by their vile slanders. The "Bulletin" and "Call" undertook to justify themselves and were in the awkward position of making war on a popular favorite just after his death; and were at the disadvantage of being unable to prove facts, of which, as it afterwards appeared, they had confidential and trustworthy information. A great public meeting was held to vindicate the memory of Ralston, and brilliant orators paid eloquent tributes to his genius and generosity. Thomas Fitch, one of the speakers of the occasion, said:

> Eulogy! What part of human speech can fitly eulogize the man we have lost. What brush of artist or pen of dramatist can depict the benefactions of his generous life and the bravery of his heroic death? His deeds speak for him in tones that sound like the blare of trumpets; his monuments rise from every rood of ground in your city; his eulogy is written in ten thousand hearts; commerce commemorates his deeds with her

whitening sails and her laden wharves; philanthropy chimes the bells of all public charities in attestation of his liberality; patriotism sings pæans for him who, in the hour of the nation's struggle, sent the ringing gold of mercy to chime with the flashing steel of valor. Unnumbered deeds of private generosity attest his secret charities. Sorrow has found solace in his deeds. Despair has been lifted into hope by his bounty. There are charities whose heaven-kissing spires chronicle his donations to the cause of religion. Schools claim him as their patron. Hospitals own him as their benefactor. Art has found in him a supporter. Science has leaned on him while her vision swept the infinite. The feet of progress have been sandalled with his silver. He has upheld invention while she wrestled with the dead forces of nature. He was the life of all enterprise, the vigor of all progress, the epitome and the representative of all that is broadening and expansive and uplifting in the life of California. Would you show honor and hospitality to travelers renowned in letters, arts or arms? Ralston was the princely host. Did you wish to forward a public or a private charity? Ralston headed the subscription list. Would you develop a new industry to enlarge the resources of the city, start a new manufacture, add wealth to the state, and furnish hundreds of husbands and fathers with contented and well paid toil? You went to Ralston for advice and assistance. He impressed you with his power; he infused you with his energy; he touched you with his princely generosity; he conquered you with his magnetism; his vitality was like the flash of steel; his enduring energy was like the steady and swift flow of a cataract; his beneficence was like the copious and searching philanthropy of the summer rain. Of all her public possessions the commonwealth of California never owned any more valuable than this man's life; of all her public disasters she has had none greater than his death.

SEC. 217. *Bank Reorganized.* Mr. Ralston supposed that, as the capital of the bank had been lost, the institution had reached its end; but he did not fully appreciate the situation. Among its directors and stockholders were many leading capitalists, including perhaps a dozen millionaires, who were personally responsible for their share of the debts, from which they could not escape if it went into bankruptcy; besides in that event its large assets would be greatly reduced by expensive litigation, and the surplus would be tied up in the courts for years. The desire to maintain the bank as a protection to the business of the city, and a belief that its good will was valuable, and that no other bank in the city would accommodate them and many friends among the merchants so well, contributed to induce them to form a syndicate, which opened the bank five weeks after it closed, supplied by assessment the lost capital, provided for paying all its debts with no abatement of interest, and restored it to its former credit and favor. Such a re-establishment of a bank that was undoubtedly bankrupt for a large sum is said to be without its like elsewhere.

SEC. 218. *Virginia Fire.* The destruction of Virginia City by fire was felt very keenly in San Francisco, where much of the burned property was owned, where the money to rebuild had to be raised, and where one result was an immense and immediate decline in the prices of stocks. The aggregate depreciation was $35,000,000. This disaster, with its direct loss of $5,000,000, coming within six weeks after the failure of the great bank, gave a rude shock to many fortunes; but backed by the bonanza which within the year paid nearly $11,000,000 in dividends, the city soon showed no signs of its trials, and its business went on as steadily as though it had never been disturbed.

SEC. 219. *Lick's Trustees Changed.* Mr. Lick had selected as his trustees to administer his benevolent gifts seven of the richest and most respectable citizens of San Francisco; and in his deed, made when he was feeble and expecting the approach of death within a few months, or perhaps even weeks, he had given them absolute control. He soon gained in strength, and though not able to walk about much, his mind was active, and he undertook to give directions to the trustees, sending for them frequently when they were engaged in other business, and issuing instructions to them without inquiring about their views. This method of procedure did not suit them. They had assumed a large responsibility without compensation, and now looked with apprehension to being placed in an awkward position before the public, whether they yielded or not. While such thoughts were under consideration among them, Mr. Lick took offense at something said by Mr. Selby, one of the number, and requested him to resign. He expressed his willingness, but the others objected on the ground that they had accepted partly because Mr. Selby was to be with them, and they prevailed upon him to withdraw his consent. The result was the institution of a suit in which, without opposition from them, judgment was rendered removing the first board of trustees, and appointing a new set, including his son, John H. Lick, who was thus made a participant in the trust. James Lick executed a new deed to the new set of trustees, giving one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to his son, in addition to the pitiful three thousand dollars before, and making reductions in the amounts for art purposes.

SEC. 220. *1876.* San Francisco enjoyed more than her usual amount of prosperity through 1876. The rains of the winter were abundant, the crops good, and towards the close of the year grain commanded high prices on account of the expectation of a great war in eastern Europe. The Southern Pacific company built several hundred miles of road, completed the connection with the net work centering at Los Angeles, and ran out into the Colorado desert; thus giving facilities and inducements for the settlement of a large region of new country, bringing the city into more intimate association with the southern part of the state, and making it certain that no railroad should cross the continent on a southern route in American territory without finding a terminal connection with San Francisco ready for immediate use. This was a check upon the supposed intention, attributed probably without good cause to leading men in the Texas and Pacific Railroad, of using their influence in trying to build up a rival to San Francisco on the southern coast. The mining production, as well as the agricultural yield was unusually large. The dividends paid in the metropolis in the course of the year were $39,000,000, including

$24,000,000 from mines. The mining stock market was considered dull, but the sales in one board amounted to $226,000,000. Numerous new buildings were erected; and among these were Baldwin's building, comprising a hotel and theater, a large and splendid structure.

SEC. 221. *Lick's Death.* James Lick appointed a third set of trustees, and soon afterwards died; leaving a benefaction that promises to be among the greatest on record for the advancement of knowledge and the alleviation of poverty. A native of Pennsylvania, bred with scanty education to the trade of cabinet-maker, he emigrated when a young man to South America, where he had in 1847 accumulated thirty thousand dollars. Coming with that sum to San Francisco, he invested it in town lots, paying three hundred dollars for the land occupied by the Lick House, now worth three quarters of a million. He was industrious, sharp-witted, simple in his tastes, stingy, and almost miserly in his mode of life, though capable of much liberality for certain purposes that suited his fancy. The value of his property rapidly increased, and he was soon reckoned one of the richest men of the Californian metropolis. His profits came almost exclusively from the increase in the value of land. He never speculated in anything else. It had long been his intention to leave the bulk of his estate for the benefit of the people of his favorite city. For their sake he refused to give to his relatives, drove hard bargains with his servants and neighbors, stinted himself, and lived in a hovel not worth two hundred dollars. When, by the defeat of the adverse claims to the site of the Lick House, he acquired a clear title there, he, with the help of an able architect adopted an original and highly meritorious plan for a hotel, designed to accommodate wealthy families in permanent boarding as well as travelers.

SEC. 222. *Centennial Celebration.* The centennial anniversary of the declaration of national independence occurred on Tuesday, and was celebrated with festivities that began on Monday morning and ended on Wednesday evening. The people of San Francisco believed that the fourth of July, 1876, should be observed with great rejoicing. In the hundred years of existence, the nation had grown beyond all previous example or even conception. It had increased its area and population more than ten fold, and its wealth a hundred fold. Its people had been happier than those of any other country. It had been the leader of the world in general education and social and political liberty. It had exerted a mighty influence in diffusing higher ideas of the capacity of the multitude for exercising rights never before conferred on them in Europe. It had done much to aid men to believe in themselves. It had made wonderful contributions to progress by inventions that gave greater control over the forces of nature. It planted the highest civilization securely over half a continent. Even in its weakness and mistakes it became the teacher of other nations. It had done enough to furnish material for one of the most attractive and impressive divisions of universal history.

While the whole people had so much reason for celebrating the centennial anniversary, San Francisco had additional motives, on account of the local circumstances of the city, which for nearly three quarters of a century had remained stationary, insignificant and unknown under Spanish dominion and then immediately after its transfer to the United States started upwards with a speed that soon led to a high place in the metropolitan list. The citizens who had shared the excitements and had been enriched by the profits of San Francisco's growth could sincerely celebrate the hundredth birthday of the nation.

A large committee of citizens, under the presidency of General James Coey, had made arrangements for a demonstration worthy of the occasion and of the city; and all classes of her inhabitants showed their desire to do their part. Across the main streets, especially Kearny and Montgomery, were stretched banners with patriotic inscriptions, and ropes upon which were strung the stars and stripes; and the houses generally were not only decorated, but were almost hidden by the flags. Kearny street at Sutter was spanned by a large arch, built by French residents in commemoration of the participation of France in the establishment of the government of the United States.

On Saturday, the solemnities commenced with patriotic sermons in the synagogues; and the Protestant clergymen followed in the same strain the next day. On Monday forenoon there was a sham battle by the federal troops; and a review by Governor Irwin of the second brigade of the national guard of California, under command of Brigadier General McComb, at the Presidio; in the afternoon there was firing at a target-boat in the bay by several war-ships and forts, and a regatta of the master mariners' association, with forty-three boats; and in the evening a torch-light procession.

Tuesday was ushered in with salutes from heavy guns, and with national airs chimed by the bells of St. Patrick's church. Mass and *Te Deum* in special honor of the day were celebrated in all the Catholic churches. A procession in which ten thousand men took part, marched under direction of the Hon. D. A. Macdonald, grand marshal, through the principal streets to the Mechanic's Pavilion, where an oration was delivered by the Rev. H. Stebbins, and a poem by J. F. Bowman. In the evening many houses were illuminated, and there was a large masquerade ball; and on Wednesday there was a regatta on the bay under the management of the San Francisco yacht club, twenty-nine boats participating.

The centennial anniversary of the consecration of the mission of San Francisco was celebrated on the eighth of October, by a large procession, and oration by Archbishop Alemany, John W. Dwinelle, and M. G. Vallejo.

Sec. 223. *1877.* A great depression of business, resulting from a severe drought, and a fear that the rich deposit of ore in the Consolidated Virginia and California mines would soon be exhausted, the organization of the workingmen's political party, the commencement and rapid prosecution of the work in widening Dupont street from Market to Bush, the opening of the Hall of Records in the new City Hall, and the construction of a large part of the main building; the adoption of a new line of water-front by the harbor commissioners, the completion and occupation of the building of the San Francisco stock and exchange board on Pine street, the failure of Duncan's savings bank, and the discovery of the great frauds committed by its manager, were among the most notable events of 1877.

SEC. 224. *Hard Times.* The scantiness of the rainfall of 1876–77, the amount being less than ten inches at San Francisco, and less than that of any other season within a quarter of a century, caused a general failure of the grain crop, a large mortality in the herds of cattle, and a serious decline in the yield of the placer mines. The direct pecuniary loss to the state by the drought was estimated at twenty million dollars. The southern part of the state was especially depressed, notwithstanding the completion of the railroad connection between San Francisco and Los Angeles in September, 1876, and the extension of the road to the Colorado river in the April following. Business generally, and especially land speculation, had reached a highly inflated condition on the southern coast in 1874, and four years elapsed before the debtors generally could get out of their embarrassments. The failure of the Texas and Pacific railroad company to do any work west of the Rocky mountains, its confession of inability to cross the continent without further aid from congress, and the refusal of that body to guarantee the payment of interest as solicited, were felt as disasters at San Diego. In 1876 the number of pleasure seekers in California from the eastern states was reduced by the rush to see the centennial fair at Philadelphia, and it was still more unfavorably affected the next year by the report that a great drought had for the season diminished the attractions and prosperity of our state. At the same time, there was a decline of confidence in the bonanza mines. The Consolidated Virginia, in January, suspended its monthly dividend of a million dollars, which it had been paying for nearly two years. The market value of the mine, calculated from the number of shares and the price at which they sold in the stock boards early in January, 1875, was $80,000,000; that was at the climax of the excitement, when the credulous public were assured by men represented to be competent mining engineers that the mine had ore enough in sight to yield $700,000,000; while a prominent government official thought he would be entirely safe in fixing the sum at $150,000,000 as the lowest possible figure. If this estimate had been correct, the price of $80,000,000 would not have been too high, for two thirds of the yield was profit, and the limits of the ore body had not been found, and since that time it has been traced two hundred feet deeper. Nevertheless the opinion spread that the lowest of these figures was far too high, and so the prices continued to fall, till at the close of 1877 the mine represented a market value of about $10,000,000. The California mine declined at the same ratio; and as these were the two great dividend-paying mines, the stock market, which had played a large part in the business of California, and especially of San Francisco, was greatly depressed. It had been estimated that at the beginning of 1875 there were one hundred millionaires in California, many of them worth more than $5,000,000 each, but in 1877 half of the number ceased to be millionaires, in the common estimation, and a score or more of them were reduced to bankruptcy or its verge, while among the laboring classes times were harder than ever before. Within three years there had been a shrinkage of $140,000,000 in the market value of the two leading mines, nearly all of whose shares were owned in San Francisco, or $1,000 on an average for every white adult in the city; and though a large majority had never owned any of these shares, all were affected indirectly, if not directly, by the decline.

SEC. 225. *Workingmen.* Such was the condition of affairs when the railroad riots began on the Atlantic slope in July. They met a prompt response in San Francisco. The hostility among the white laborers, who believed that, if it were not for the Mongolian competition, they could generally get employment at better wages, broke out in a riot on the twenty-third of July, when one Chinese laundry was burned, and several were sacked. The police with difficulty dispersed the mob, but the rioters were defiant, and threatened to drive out the Asiatics with fire and pistol at no distant day. As among the twenty-seven thousand houses more than four fifths were wooden, and three hundred Chinese laundries were scattered through all the wards, this threat caused much uneasiness. If an anti-Chinese mob should get control for a few hours, the destruction of San Francisco might be the result. To counteract this danger, a committee of safety, organized under the presidency of W. T. Coleman, who had been president of the vigilance committee of 1856, with six thousand members, prevented the enemies of the Chinese from resorting to force. Then the workingmen's political party arose, adopted the motto "The Chinese must go," held public meetings nearly every Sunday, and applauded speakers who clamored for hemp to be used in hanging monopolists; who exhibited pieces of rope as part of their platform; who declared that the Mongolians must be driven out, even if all the manufacturing industry of the city should cease; who talked of the burning of Moscow as a lesson for the oppressors of white labor; and who advised their followers to arm themselves and organize in military companies for the purpose of resisting the police and state and federal troops.

This party suddenly rose to formidable proportions. It promised to protect the rights of laboring men, and denounced the democratic and republican parties as corrupt, and accomplices of the monopolists in oppressing the poor. Dennis Kearney, the leader of the new organization, became an effective popular orator, drawing large crowds of hearers, and commanding loud bursts of applause when he spoke; but his success was evidently due mainly to the high passions of his hearers, and his understanding of them, and not to superior judgment, learning, or rhetorical skill. His influence, however, was sufficient to attract the support of a majority of the voters in the city; and to cause much uneasiness among rich men and the leaders of the old parties.

SEC. 226. *1878.* The year 1878, which has not reached its end when this paragraph is written, has so far been prosperous. The rainfall was abundant, the grain-crops large; and though the Consolidated Virginia and California mines reduced their monthly dividends from $1,000,000 to $500,000 each, and then suspended them, still hopes were entertained that they would soon resume, and also that equally large dividends would at no distant time be obtained from the Sierra Nevada, and Union Consolidated mines, in which a body of very rich ore was found. In this year six men classed among the millionaires residing in San Francisco or its suburbs, died. Mark Hopkins, one of the directors of the Central Pacific railroad company, left an estate of $10,000,000; Michael Reese about $8,000,000; W. S. O'Brien, $6,000,000; and Isaac Friedlander (who had been greatly embarrassed by the drought of 1877), $400,000. The value of the estates of D. D. Colton and Wm. Watt has not been published. All these men were poor when they arrived in California; all were men of rare business capacity and industry, save O'Brien, and he was a general favorite among his acquaintance; all had the reputation of keeping their contracts; and all were public spirited save Reese, though he was liberal enough to purchase Francis Lieber's library at a cost of $3,000 for the State University. The loss of so many millionaires by a city of three hundred thousand inhabitants, within a year, is an evidence that the claim of exceptional abundance of that class of population has much foundation.

SEC. 227. *Eighteen Years.* The distinguishing feature of The Silver Era, the period from the beginning of 1861 till the present time, has been the influence of the mines of Nevada, which, by their dividends and the selling of their shares in the stock boards, have done much to enrich San Francisco, and give character to her business. No other product of her tributary area is equal in value, or belongs to her so much as the silver. The wheat, gold, wool, wine and fruit must yield precedence to the metal of the Comstock. By the boldness with which she invested her capital, and her power in attracting those who had made fortunes elsewhere without her help, she became the owner of nearly everything worth owning in the silver mines, which were then worked mainly for her benefit. Three great "pay chutes," as they are styled by the miners, each containing several large and distinct but related masses of rich ore, were found and worked out with an energy, skill and excellence of mechanical appliances, to which the great mining industry of Potosí, Cerro Pasco, Guanajuato and Zacatecas had made no approach. The first of these pay chutes to be exhausted so far, commencing at the surface in the Gould and Curry mine, and running downwards and southwards, through the Savage and Hale and Norcross, yielded $40,000,000 gross before 1869. The second in the order of date of exhaustion, beginning at the surface in what is now the Consolidated Imperial, and running southwards and downwards through the Yellow Jacket, Kentuck, Crown Point and Belcher, yielded $90,000,000 before 1874. The third and greatest pay chute so far worked made its appearance in the Ophir at the surface, and after having been lost for more than ten years was again struck three hundred yards distant in the Consolidated Virginia, and has yielded $110,000,000. The bottom of the ore body in this pay chute has not been reached, and the miners are searching for new ore bodies in each of the others. In the summer of 1878 a body of rich ore was found in the Sierra Nevada, and is supposed to be the beginning of a new bonanza, and of a still larger production of bullion. The average annual yield of the silver mines for the five years preceding July, 1878, was $35,000,000; the dividends more than half as much, the assessments half as much as the dividends, the average daily fluctuations several millions, and the average annual sales in the mining stock boards, $200,000,000. Most of the San Franciscans are intensely interested in the rise and fall of the silver stocks, while relatively few read the market reports of the sales of wheat.

The speculation in mining shares became the most prominent business in San Francisco, and as a field for the investment of money had more frequent and greater fluctuations than those of any other stock market, making and marring many fortunes in a day. The excitement is more attractive than that of the gambling table, because it is accompanied by the production of immense quantities of bullion, and there are times when the opening of new ore bodies add to the national wealth, and enable buyer and seller alike to make good profits on their transactions.

The district south of the line of Bush street gained fifteen or twenty fold; Kearny and Market streets rose from relative insignificance to leading positions in retail business; and California near Montgomery became the chief center of the money market. The construction of eight street railroads gave cheap and speedy access to the suburbs, and added five perhaps ten times as much as their cost to the value of the land in the city, giving to extensive districts, previously suburban, an urban character. The concentration of street railroad terminations at the end of Market street, the slips there enabling ferry-boats to make quick landings, the half-hourly trips across the bay, the reduction of the single fares to fifteen cents, the sale of commutation tickets, and the construction of the wharf, the steam railroads, the street railroads, and the artificial harbor at Oakland, contributed to raise that town to a city of forty thousand inhabitants, in very intimate suburban relations with the metropolis.

The population of the state had increased to 850,000 in 1878, and the annual gain since 1860 was not less than ten per cent., or more than three times as much as the average gain in the United States. After a large part of the damage done by refusing to sell the federal land in the mineral regions had become irreparable, the policy was modified, without, however, enabling settlers to acquire titles under the same liberal conditions as in the agricultural districts. As the gold yield declined, many of the miners became farmers, and others discouraged by the high expense of transporting their grain and fruit to market, moved from the Sierra Nevada to the valleys and coast mountains. The counties near San Francisco and those on the southern coast, attracted most of the new settlers. California ceased to be mainly a money-making resort, and became a health and pleasure resort. As the "Westminister Review" said, after having been the treasury, she became the garden of the world. The enterprise of her inhabitants, the activity of her business, the fertility of her soil, and the genial warmth of her climate, enabled her to make her valleys bloom suddenly with most beautiful and luxuriant perennial verdure. Her markets had the most abundant and varied supply of home-grown fruit to be found anywhere. The resources of the state were carefully studied; the geology, botany, zoölogy, meteorology and scenery, were diligently compared with those of other countries, explained in comprehensive books, and made the subject of frequent comment in the public journals. The construction of two thousand miles of railroad within her borders, the completion of the iron track across the continent, the establishment of lines of steamers to China and Australia, contributed vastly to her trade, prosperity and population.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERALITIES.

SECTION 228. *Natural Site.* The site of San Francisco has been changed wonderfully within thirty years. In 1846 the only place apparently suitable for town purposes was an area of perhaps forty acres surrounding Portsmouth square. Elsewhere no considerable expanse of land level or nearly level was to be found without going to the presidio in one direction, or the Mission in the other. Hill and ravine, chaparral and sand, high rocky bluff, mud flat and swamp, covered thousands of acres now densely populated, and seeming by their flat or gently sloping surface to have been admirably fitted by nature to be the heart of a great city. But the hand of art is hidden in this vast plain. Eastward from the line of First street, between Folsom and Broadway, are three hundred and twenty acres now covered by houses occupied for purposes of commerce and manufactures, but in 1848 occupied by the anchorage of Yerba Buena cove. North of Broadway, including North Beach, there are forty acres, and south of Folsom street, including part of Mission cove, there are one hundred and fifty acres of ground made in the bay. A swamp heading near the corner of Mission and Seventh streets ran for a mile eastward to the bay, with an average width of three hundred yards, and a parallel marsh, not so wide, had its head near the crossing of Mission and Eighth streets. These were called swamps; but they seem to have been for part of their area at least, subterranean lakes, from forty to eighty feet deep, covered by a crust of peat eight or ten feet thick. These marshes, with another along the border of Mission creek, had an area of three hundred acres and are now filled in. About eight hundred acres that were swamp and bay in 1868 are now solid land, and are occupied for business purposes.

The peat in the marshes that had their heads near the site of the new city hall was strong enough to sustain a small house or a loaded wagon, though a man, by swinging himself from side to side, or by jumping upon it, could give it a perceptible shiver. There were weak places in it, however, and a cow which in searching for sweet pasture undertook to jump from one hard spot to what appeared to be another, made a mistake, for it gave way under her, and a gentleman hunting near by was surprised to see her go down, and still more to observe that she did not come up again. A puddle of muddy water was all that remained to indicate her burial place. After that the hunter did not jump about in the swamp so boldly as before. Many ludicrous scenes occurred in filling up the swamps. When streets were first made the weight of the sand pressed the peat down, so that the water stood where the surface was dry before. Sometimes the sand broke through, carrying down the peat under it, leaving nothing but water or thin mud near the surface. More than once a contractor had put on enough sand to raise the street to the official grade, and gave notice to the city engineer to inspect the work, but in the lapse of a day between the notice and inspection, the sand had sunk down six or eight feet; and, when at last a permanent bottom had been reached, the heavy sand had crowded under the light peat at the sides of the street and lifted it up eight or ten feet above its original level, in muddy ridges full of hideous cracks. Not only was the peat crowded up by the sand in this way, but it was also pushed sidewise, so that houses and fences built upon it were carried away from their original position and tilted up at singular angles by the upheaval.

While San Francisco was unfortunate in having such wide areas of marsh and mud flat along her water front, she had some compensation in the possession of numerous and high sand hills. It having become evident that it would pay to fill in water lots, even when a man with a horse and cart was paid fifteen dollars per day, James Cunningham saw that here was the place for a steam shovel, or steam paddy, as it was commonly termed. This was a scoop which at one move would dig up a cubic yard of sand or gravel (equivalent to a ton and a half in weight, and nearly twice as much as could be hauled by a single horse in a cart), then swing it round by a crane over a railway car into which the load was discharged. The steam paddy was at work from 1852 till 1854, and from 1859 till 1873 almost constantly, sometimes moving two thousand five hundred tons in a day, and for a while two were employed.

The steam shovel could not work anywhere save in sand, but there were five thousand acres of it that needed leveling, though over a considerable part of this area the work could be done more cheaply with horse and cart. The steam paddy could not be used with advantage unless the sand was to be carried a considerable distance. Market street, for half a mile from the water, was a wide ridge of sand, part of the way sixty feet above the present level, and nothing but the steam paddy and railroad could have moved it without ruinous expense.

SEC. 229. *Grades.* In 1850, under urgent pressure from citizens who wanted to build and needed some official guidance for fixing the level of their houses, the city council, without ordering any careful study of the city's topography or future interests, adopted grades for the most busy streets, and under this order, Montgomery, from Pine to Pacific; Kearny, from Sutter to Pacific; Dupont, from Clay to Broadway; Stockton, from Clay to North Beach, and Powell, from Broadway to North Beach, were graded at various times from 1850 to 1853. Most of these streets, as well as the cross streets from Commercial to Broadway inclusive, were planked soon after the grading was finished. Oregon fir planks, three or four inches thick, furnished a cheap material for a smooth and strong road-bed that could be put down quickly at little expense, and taken up readily whenever, as frequently happened, any digging in the street was necessary; and though not permanent, still it could be replaced at the end of five years for less than the interest on the extra cost of any stone pavement.

If the shore line had remained where it was in 1850, the grade then adopted would have been sufficient; but the filling in of Yerba Buena cove, and the pushing of the water front from near its natural position between Montgomery and Sansome on Clay to a place a thousand feet farther east, made it necessary, for purposes of drainage, to raise the levels of many of the streets as first established. In 1853, the city council undertook to provide for the future by a comprehensive system, and employed Milo Hoadley and W. P. Humphreys to prepare a system of grades. The table presented by them was adopted by the council on the twenty-sixth of August; and though changed afterwards in many minor points, it was well devised, for the greater part of the area which it covered, and especially in what was then the business part of the city, where there was general discontent because the levels were raised above the former official grades, in many places as much as five feet. This new grade of 1853 imposed a heavy expense upon those who had already built of brick, and so many citizens were dissatisfied that another board of engineers was organized to revise the table. The new board refused to alter "the Hoadley grades," as they were called, in those places where they most seriously affected the value of buildings. On the hills great changes were made by the new board. Hoadley had proposed more cutting of rock than the lot-owners could afford. He required the removal of one hundred and thirty-nine vertical feet at the intersection of Montgomery and Union streets, and one hundred and thirty-three feet at the crossing of Kearny and Greenwich.

The summit of Telegraph hill, in the middle of the block bounded by Filbert, Greenwich, Kearny and Montgomery streets, would have to be cut down two hundred feet to bring it to the level of the surrounding streets. The lots there were then worth about ten cents a square foot, and the grading, as proposed by Hoadley, would cost from three to six dollars per square foot. It was his idea that this work would be done in the course of years, and that the rock taken from the hill would be in demand for filling water lots and for ballast. It was then considered especially important to provide ballast, for ships came full and went away empty, and the time when they would come empty and go away full, as they now do, was considered too remote for any business calculation. The new board of engineers was however not entirely adverse to deep cutting, for it required an excavation on Sansome street of forty feet at Vallejo, one hundred and twenty at Green, thirty-four at Union, and fifty-six at Filbert. The grades thus recommended were accepted by the council, and have with slight changes been adhered to since, though after a lapse of more than twenty years Sansome street has not yet been cut through the base of Telegraph hill on the modified grade.

SEC. 230. *Amount of Grading.* No official table shows the amount of grading actually done. The depth of the cutting was calculated from the center of the street crossing, which was in many places on a steep hill-side. The council determined the grades of the streets, and the lot-owners, for their own convenience, were compelled to put their lots on the same level with the street in front of them. About one fourth of the area was in streets. We may assume that the present level of three thousand acres is on the average nine feet above or below the natural surface of the ground, and these figures imply the transfer of twenty-one million cubic yards from hill to hollow.

A necessary result of the change of grade after houses had been erected, was that they had to be adapted to the new level. In some cases, new stories were put under or upon old houses, which, though only one or two stories high when first built, are three or four stories high now. In the business part of the city, a large proportion of the houses were raised to conform to the Hoadley grade, and as many of them were large structures of brick, this raising was no small undertaking. A machine based on the principle of the hydraulic press, for lifting up houses, was invented and used for raising about nine hundred brick houses in San Francisco, one of them covering an area of one hundred and thirty-seven and one half feet square.

SEC. 231. *Sources of Buildings.* Common rumor tells us of the sources of the money invested in many of the prominent buildings of San Francisco. The Crown Point and Belcher bonanza furnished Mr. Sharon with the means for becoming the owner of the Palace hotel. Baldwin's hotel was the result of lucky speculations in Ophir and Mexican stock. The Nevada block was built with bullion from the Consolidated Virginia. The two buildings on the eastern corners of Pine and Montgomery grew out of the Gould and Curry and Savage bonanza. Three brothers, who had worked the Sierra Buttes gold quartz mine with success, became proprietors of the Cosmopolitan hotel. Hayward's building at No. 419 California street, was built with the profits of the Hayward gold quartz mine at Sutter creek. Pierce's building at No. 317 California street was washed out of the blue gravel hydraulic claim at Smartsville. Watts's building on the south-east corner of Clay and Kearny was stamped out of the auriferous quartz of the Eureka mine at Grass Valley. The large wooden building on the north-west corner of Stockton and O'Farrell, was built with money saved from the Plato mine, now part of the Consolidated Imperial. The foundation for the Occidental hotel was laid in the first foundry established in San Francisco. The Nucleus building, on the east corner of Market and Third, was, if not made out of the profits of the first steam-shovel, at least built by its importer, who did a large part of the grading of the city. The law firm of Halleck, Peachy & Billings obtained much of the money to pay for Montgomery Block out of their business as counsel in cases before the United States land commission. The rents from a couple of lots bought in 1847 by a private soldier in Stevenson's regiment for about thirty dollars, furnished the means for putting up the Russ House. The Lick House was in like manner the outgrowth of a small but fortunate investment in town lots before the gold discovery. Friedlander erected the building on the north-eastern corner of California and Sansome streets, out of the profits of wheat speculation. The Odd Fellows' Hall, on the north-west corner of Montgomery and Summer streets was built by J. W. Tucker, who had made his money out of a fashionable jewelry store, when great profits were charged in his business. Bancroft's building owes its existence to a large business in books and stationery. The house on the north-east corner of California and Leidesdorff streets was built by the Pacific insurance company, which was bankrupted by the Chicago fire in 1871. Certain people had so much confidence in Stephen A. Wright, who had opened a shop as a banker, that they deposited one hundred and fifty thousand dollars with him in 1854, and he made a permanent investment for them by putting up the brick and granite building on the north-west corner of Montgomery and Jackson streets. So long as they did not demand their principal, all went well, but when the financial panic came in February, 1855, nothing was left for them—save the privilege of looking at the architectural pile which belonged to somebody else. The house of the Real Estate Associates, at 228 Montgomery, was made out of the profits of buying land in large lots, dividing it up into small ones, putting houses on them, and selling them at a credit. The buildings of the San Francisco Stock Exchange and the Pacific Exchange are monuments of the passion of San Franciscans for taking the chances in wild speculation. The houses at 400 and 420 Montgomery street were erected by Samuel Brannan in 1853 out of profits of real estate investments, and were then considered ornaments of the city and signal evidences of confidence in her future prosperity and importance. W. T. Sherman brought the capital from St. Louis to build the house on the north-east corner of Montgomery and Jackson for the bank of Lucas, Turner & Co., of which he was the manager. The Mercantile Library building was paid for by a grand lottery, authorized by statute in violation of the constitution, but no worse in principle, though larger in scale, than the raffles frequently held at church fairs. The Central Pacific railroad company built the house on the north corner of Fourth and Townsend streets; and four of the residence palaces on California street, not far from Mason, were built by directors of the same company, in which three of them accumulated nearly all their wealth. On Taylor street, between Washington and Clay are a couple of magnificent dwellings built out of profits on money managed with capacity. The buildings erected by associated capital, such as those of banking and charitable institutions are numerous.

SEC. 232. *The Press.* After the return of its editor from the mines, whither they went in the first excitement, the "Californian" resumed publication on the fifteenth of August, 1848, and having been consolidated with the "Star," appeared on the eighteenth of November as the "Star and Californian." On the fourth of January, 1849, it changed its name to the "Alta California." It was published as a weekly till December 10, then appeared three times a week, and on the twenty-second of January became a daily, anticipating a rival which appeared as a daily on the twenty-third. In

1851 the "Herald," and in 1854 the "Chronicle," took considerable shares of business from the "Alta," but both lost much of their favor with the public in May, 1856, because they did not sustain the movement for a vigilance committee, and both of them died in consequence of the losses then sustained, while the "Alta," by advocating the popular side, became very profitable. The "Bulletin" began on the eighth of October, 1855, speedily gained a large circulation, and has enjoyed a steady prosperity ever since. The "Morning Call" was founded on the first of December, 1856, as the first permanent cheap daily journal. The present "Chronicle," not related in any manner to the old "Chronicle" which died in 1858, appeared as an advertising sheet for the theaters in 1865, and having been successful for three years was developed into a general newspaper. The "Examiner" dates from 1862, and the "Evening Post" from 1871. These are the daily English journals devoted to general news that have survived; and there are besides more than a score of others, weekly, or devoted to special branches of business, or foreign—German, French, Italian, Scandinavian, Spanish, Chinese; and not less than two hundred have started and expired. In ability, learning, careful editing, and enterprise in collecting news, the San Francisco press compares not unfavorably with that of other American cities.

SEC. 233. *Amusements.* San Francisco has devoted a considerable share of her attention to the pursuit of pleasure. The greater part of the territory of which she is the metropolis is poor in resources for enjoyment. Large areas in Nevada, Arizona, Southern California, Oregon and Idaho are occupied by deserts; western Oregon and Washington are enveloped for much of the year in rain or mist; the mining counties of California are declining as their placers are exhausted; the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys suffer with intense heat in the summer, and have not been satisfactorily protected against flood and drought. Partly for these reasons, most of the luxury of the slope has collected in and about San Francisco. The people from the wide region between the British and Mexican lines west of the Rocky mountains have come hither for twenty years to seek compensation for the toils and privations of frontier life, and have contributed much to refine and enrich the city. From early times the theaters have been large, good, and relatively numerous. Celebrated actors and singers came half around the world to share the golden harvest of California. The chill temperature of the evenings throughout the year stimulated dancing, which is more common in San Francisco than in any other city. The German, French, and Italian population each contributed features of its own to the general character. Concerts, masquerades, picnics, processions, and excursions were frequent.

For three years after the gold discovery, the people had few opportunities to make pleasure excursions to the country; and those who wanted to enjoy the open air away from the throng of business usually contented themselves by walking to the tops of Russian or Telegraph Hill, which latter was visited by thousands, who sat on its sides for hours every pleasant Sunday and looked down over the busy bay. Russ garden, on the south corner of Sixth and Harrison streets, was opened as a popular resort in 1853, and was liberally patronized, especially on Sunday, until 1860, when the Market street railroad gave facilities to reach the "Willows," a public garden between Seventeenth, Nineteenth, Valencia and Mission streets. The surface of the ground was then about twenty feet below its present level, and the name was derived from the trees, which gave an abundance of shade. A year later Hayes' park, which had a large pavilion on Laguna, near Hayes street, became a favorite place for picnics and Sunday gatherings; and in 1866 it was superseded by Woodward's garden, which has since maintained its place in popular favor.

The large population of the city supplied a liberal patronage to excursions. Picnic parties went in great numbers to the various grounds at Belmont, Oakland, Alameda, Saucelito, San Rafael and Berkeley, when they were successively made accessible conveniently by improved steam communication. The street railroads of San Francisco and Oakland, the ferry boats crossing the bay in various directions, the roads to the cemeteries, the park, the beach, the Mission peaks, and Mount San Bruno offer so many facilities for getting out into the country, that though three times as many go into the country on Sunday as went fifteen years ago, yet the throng is not anywhere now so great.

SEC. 234. *Churches.* No house of worship had been maintained at Yerba Buena under the Mexican dominion, and soon after the American flag was hoisted Prudencio Santillan, Mexican Catholic priest at the Mission, left the place, which had had no regular religious services for several years, though occasionally a priest would come from San José. The Mormons who arrived in the "Brooklyn" met for worship every Sunday in some private house, the congregation being called together by a hand bell, which, though not very large, when rung on Portsmouth square could be heard by all the residents of the village. Elder Samuel Brannan usually conducted the services. Protestant worship was held occasionally by different clergymen from April, 1847, till November 1, 1849, when the first Protestant church was opened by the Congregationalists, with the Rev. T. D. Hunt as their pastor. In the course of the next year, Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist churches were organized on permanent bases. J. S. Alemany, was consecrated Catholic bishop of California at Rome in 1850, and W. I. Kip, of the Episcopal church, missionary bishop of California at New York three years later, and both have continued to labor in the same field ever since, the former having been promoted to the rank of archbishop. San Francisco abounds with churches, with at least one for nearly every phase of Christian faith, besides Jewish synagogues and Boodhist joss-houses. The cosmopolitan character of the population has a liberalizing tendency, and California will never be noted for high regard of sectarian lines, or strict observance of ceremonial or disciplinary rules. The church property is valuable, some of the buildings are large and costly, and there is no lack of pulpit eloquence or of sincere devotion.

SEC. 235. *Charities.* Charitable associations are numerous in San Francisco, and large sums are contributed every year to alleviate poverty and suffering. The secret associations which undertake to aid members in sickness, and their widows and orphans, have probably 20,000 members. There are two dozen benevolent societies organized on the basis of nationality, and as many more on the basis of creed or church associations. The expenditure of the Catholic churches of San Francisco in 1877 for charity was $42,000, and that of other churches not less. The total annual expenditure of the city and its citizens for charitable purposes is not less than $1,000,000, and probably considerably more. No city has contributed so much relatively to be spent at a distance. No great disaster can befall any European or American state largely represented by its native residents in California without an expression of sympathy from San Francisco. Liberal subscriptions have been given to British, French, German, Italian, Hungarian, Swedish, Swiss, Slavonian, Peruvian, and Mexican charities; and the sums collected for the relief of distant suffering have probably amounted to more than $2,000,000. The gifts to the sanitary fund and Christian commission in the civil war were $974,000; to the sanitary and ransom fund of France in 1870–71, $299,678; to the sufferers by the Chicago fire in 1871, $144,761; to the German sanitary fund, $138,383; to the yellow fever sufferers in 1878, $100,000; for the Virginia City fire in 1875, $60,000; for the Kansas grasshopper scourge in 1875, $37,000; for the Marysville flood in 1875, $22,000; for the Sacramento flood in 1862, $20,000, and large supplies of clothes and provisions; for the Sacramento fire in 1852, $30,000; for the Peruvian earthquake in 1868, $15,500; for the yellow fever in 1853, $10,000; and smaller sums for the Italian patriotic fund, for destitute immigrants by land in 1847 and 1851, and suffering by famine among jews in Morocco in 1860; by a Swiss flood in 1868, by a French flood in 1867, by a Hungarian flood in 1876, by the Inyo earthquake in 1876, and the Washoe Indian war in 1860, San Francisco contributed about one half of the sums exceeding $60,000, and nearly all of the smaller sums.

SEC. 236. *Home Life.* Ever since the gold discovery the home life of San Francisco has been different from that of any other city. The composite character of its population, the long journeys taken by ninety-five out of one hundred of its adult inhabitants before they could make their homes here, the remarkably speculative and fluctuating features of its business, and the peculiarities of its climate, imply peculiarities of custom. The climate has a great effect upon domestic life everywhere; in San Francisco it is unlike that of any other great city. The coolness of the summers demanding active exercise for comfort in July, the warmth of the winter, which has neither ice nor snow, the multitude of clear days—nearly three hundred in a year—and the rarity of rain from April to October inclusive, render the shelter of a house less needful than in other climes, and drive people into the open air. Home is less and the street more for the San Franciscans than for the citizens of New York or Charleston.

In a temperature always cool, there must be much physical activity and intellectual energy; and it is not improbable that a peculiar race will grow up near the ocean shore on the middle coast of California; a race bred to a great extent in the open air, where the sunshine is not uncomfortably warm more than a dozen days in the year; a race marked by large size, healthy bodies, industrious habits, and clear complexion. Certainly nature and art never combined elsewhere so many circumstances favorable for the physical and mental training of children than will at no distant time be found in or near San Francisco. Families generally are small; the American women—that is, those born in the United States—dislike to have many children, and those who have been married fifteen or twenty years have not on the average more than two living. Among the women of foreign birth, especially those of Irish blood or Jewish faith, it is common to have six or eight children; but their daughters are not so prolific.

According to a table prepared by the county clerk, 22,636 natives and 25,042 foreign citizens were registered as entitled to vote in San Francisco in 1876, the natives being forty-seven out of a hundred in the entire number. The school census of the same year reported 15,288 children between five and seventeen years of age were the offspring of native parents, while 45,922 were born of foreign parents. The children of native parents are twenty-four per cent. of all the children, or only one third so numerous relatively as those of foreign parents.

SEC. 237. *Hotels.* Many circumstances have contributed to give hotels and boarding houses a prominent place in San Francisco life. The large proportion of unmarried men, the numerous married women without children, the unsettled character of the population in early years, the multitude of men engaged in risky speculations, and the high wages of domestic servants, drove people to hotels, boarding-houses and restaurants in early times, and stimulated the development of high excellence in their management. This excellence is still maintained, and many of the influences potent against housekeeping twenty years ago still continue nearly as powerful as ever.

The City hotel, a building of adobe a story and a half high, on the south-west corner of Clay and Kearny, erected in 1847, was the first house of the kind in San Francisco. It was superseded in 1849 by the St. Francis, a three-story wooden structure, on the south-west corner of Clay and Dupont. This was for nearly two years the most fashionable hotel, and after it came a multitude of houses, among which the Oriental, a four-story wooden building on the south-west corner of Bush and Battery, in 1851 gained the favor of wealthy families, and managed to maintain it for ten years. The Tehama house, a two-story frame on the site of the present bank of California, had the patronage of the army officers; and the International, a brick house on the north side of Jackson street, where Montgomery avenue now runs, had the favor of travelers. The Rassette house, of wood, burned down in 1853, was rebuilt, then changed to the Metropolitan hotel, torn down, rebuilt, and called the Cosmopolitan, not a hotel now.

The rapid growth of the city after 1860, in consequence of the settlement of the land titles south of California street about that time, was accompanied by the construction of larger and finer hotels than any before seen in California. The Russ, the Lick, the Cosmopolitan, and the Occidental, were finished and opened within three years. The Grand was completed in 1869, the Palace in 1875, and the Baldwin in 1877. The Palace is reputed to be the largest, most costly, and most commodious hotel in the world, and if it does not deserve the repute, has at least few equals. Together, the six hotels last mentioned can accommodate about four thousand guests.

Many of the patrons of these houses are families who remain as permanent boarders from year to year. All save the Russ are now considered first-class hotels, entitled to rank with the best in New York. These and seven second-class hotels had 2614 new guests arriving in a week in March, 1875, equivalent to 136,000 in a year. The boarding-houses are numerous, and many of them large and commodious.

SEC. 238. *Millionaires.* San Francisco has probably more millionaires in proportion to the number of inhabitants than any other city, and at the same time has fewer paupers, more land-owners, and more comfort in the homes of the multitude. The remarkable accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few has not impoverished their immediate neighbors. Leland Stanford, C. P. Huntington, Charles Crocker, and the late Mark Hopkins, were merchants in Sacramento in very moderate circumstances when congress gave its vast subsidies to the Central Pacific railroad company, and laid the foundations of their fortunes. The late D. D. Colton, associated with them, began life in California as deputy-sheriff of Siskiyou county, then became a lawyer, but made much of his wealth by the increase in the value of land bought at the sale of the Broderick estate. Peter Donahue, owner of the Petaluma Valley railroad was an engineer on an ocean steamship, established the first foundry of San Francisco, and after the great fires of 1850 and 1851 obtained at very low prices large quantities of old iron that was afterwards sold at a great advance. J. C. Flood and the late W. S. O'Brien kept a bar until accident led them into the stock market, and in less than five years after they sold out their bar they were among the richest of men. J. W. Mackey and J. G. Fair, their partners, had been miners. Wm. Sharon had lived in San Francisco fifteen years before he became wealthy, and within a few years after he became agent of the Bank of California at Virginia City, he was reported to be worth $25,000,000. At that time the bank loaned large sums on mining stocks, and Ralston, the manager, being engaged in stock speculations, wanted an acute man at the mines to send him confidential information. Sharon had all the qualities needed for the position, and was lucky in having obtained a local reputation for capacity, as well as control of a large capital belonging to the bank before the opening of the Crown Point and Belcher bonanza, of the discovery of which he was one of the first to hear and of the progress of which he had the earliest information. The finding of a large deposit of rich ore makes a demand for money among the miners and others acquainted with the facts, and when these men solicit loans the capitalist to whom they apply is usually made their confidant.

John P. Jones had been a miner, and was superintendent of the Crown Point mine when its bonanza was discovered. He bought thousands of shares at three dollars, and held them till they sold for a hundred times as much. By his advice his brother-in-law, Alvinza Hayward, made some millions out of the same stock. Hayward had previously become a millionaire out of a gold quartz mine at Sutter Creek, where he had struggled for years in poverty before he succeeded in getting at the buried wealth. E. J. Baldwin kept a livery stable before he tried speculating in mining stocks, and for a long time fortune did not smile on him; but he was lucky enough to get hold of a large number of shares in the Ophir and Mexican mines just before the opening of the Consolidated Virginia bonanza in 1873, and he made millions by selling at the right time. James R. Keene, now in New York, sold milk as a boy in Shasta, and afterwards had a hard time as a curbstone broker in San Francisco for years, but managed to catch the tide of fortune at its flood, and is credited with possessing half a dozen millions.

D. O. Mills, now president of the bank of California, is one of the oldest and most prudent bankers in the state, and owes eight or ten millions to strict observance of sound business rules. John Parrott, American consul at Mazatlan when gold was discovered at Coloma, is one of the few millionaires of California who brought much money with him, though he has increased his capital probably fifty fold in the meantime. M. S. Latham, ex-manager of the London and San Francisco bank, was a lawyer, has been collector, governor, and federal senator, and is the most scholarly of those who have been San Francisco millionaires, for he holds that position no longer. Lloyd Tevis, J. B. Haggin, and the late Michael Reese have made much of their fortunes out of loans. Charles Lux and Henry Miller commenced life as butcher-boys, and now have landed estates that princes might envy. W. S. Chapman bought large areas of the plain in Stanislaus and Merced counties, east of the San Joaquin river, from the federal government about 1867, just before the general public discovered that that region was destined to be one of the chief centers of agricultural wealth in the state, and much of the land then bought with scrip at a cost to him of less than a dollar in coin an acre, has since been in demand at twenty dollars, and has in the meantime paid a large interest for pasturage or tillage. J. M. Shafter obtained large tracts of land as payment for legal services, and his ranch at Point Reyes is the finest dairy estate in America. John Sullivan was a bricklayer, and was enriched by the rise in city land. The millionaire estates of J. L. Folsom and Thomas O. Larkin have disappeared.

The law and custom of California do not favor the perpetuation of large estates. There is no law of primogeniture or practice of entail, nor is any favor shown by public opinion to either. Without them, especially in a country where there is so much speculation as here, the maintenance of great wealth in any family for many generations is not probable, and the people accept the situation. Nearly all the rich men are proud of the fact that they have made their own fortunes, and they are willing that their remote descendants should commence life as they did. They do not worry themselves about their inability to transmit their wealth in a lump to distant times as the support of a family to wear their own names in honor.

SEC. 239. *Extravagance.* Of all people, the most extravagant are the Californians. They not only spend more absolutely because they earn more, but they spend more relatively. The great motive of economy, fear of the future, is much weaker here than elsewhere. A large part of the population are solitary men, who think that no matter what pecuniary loss may overtake them, they can always earn a living and soon accumulate a little money again. Poverty is not accompanied by the same privations or the same social discredit here as in older communities. The Californian who has conducted himself as a gentleman, knows that many of his old acquaintances, even if they were not his friends when he was prosperous, will give him aid in his need. It is not in them to turn their backs; sentiment and custom require them to be generous. The frequency of the great and sudden changes from poverty to wealth, and from wealth to poverty, breeds a feeling of obligation to one another. Many unfortunates do not get the benefits of this mutual helpfulness, but others do, and it influences the general mode of life.

The high wages, the high rates of interest, the high profits of many kinds of business, the great concentration of wealth, the high average of intelligence and the frequency of visits to the great cities on both sides of the Atlantic, bred a fondness for luxury, in which San Francisco far surpasses any city of equal size anywhere. A San Franciscan lady who had an opportunity of seeing the private apartments of the Empress Eugenie when abandoned by her after the battle of Sedan, said that in convenience and elegance of furniture they were inferior to many bedchambers of our city; and yet they were reputed to be more costly than any other in Europe. Each class here has better houses, better furniture, better tables, better clothes than the same class in American cities on the Atlantic slope. It also spends more in amusements. This implies the prevalence of extravagance, the custom of making sacrifices for appearances, and a notably inferior degree of economy. Something of this is due to the habits established during the early times when money was more abundant among the multitude than now; and something also to the prominence of speculation, which stimulates to immediate enjoyment, with little regard to remote contingencies. San Francisco, while confidently claiming a great future, is pre-eminently, in its spirit, a city of the present. In business, as in pleasure, prompt returns are demanded.

The tendency of the business of California toward speculation has the effect of stimulating people to immediate enjoyment. Before the completion of the telegraph across the continent, merchandising was full of large risks and sudden turns. A few weeks might see a change from a scarcity to a glut, or from a glut to a scarcity. There was no regularity in prices or supplies. After the opening of the Comstock Lode, the shares were thrown into the San Francisco market, and by their remarkable fluctuations, became its most remarkable feature. The rapid rise in city lots and agricultural lands, under the impulse of great additions to the population, added to the fondness for bold pecuniary ventures. Never did any country offer baits so numerous or so seductive to the gambling appetite, which is strong in human nature, and usually breaks out fiercely wherever it has a chance.

The spirit of '49 has not died out. Many of those who were here in the flush era of the early placer mining have not freed themselves from its influence. Our local experience has proved that nothing does so much to ruin men, generally, as a sudden change to high wages. There never was a more extravagant, wasteful and dissipated set of men than the old placer miners. They who had been sober and industrious, and had saved money when they earned sixteen dollars a month, before coming to California, became idle and drunken, and saved nothing when they earned two hundred dollars. They spent as fast as they made their money. This was not the universal rule, but the custom was more common than elsewhere. Poverty is the mother of economy. The barren soil of Scotland and New England, and the pitiful little farms of France, are the best breeding places for thrift. Wellington said that a French army could subsist in comfort, and a Spanish army in luxury, with supplies on which an English army would starve.

The evidences of Californian extravagance are to be seen on every side. The dwellings, furniture, tables, and dress of the people, indicate very liberal expenditure. San Francisco has the reputation of buying the most costly wines, cigars and silks. A saying, not deserving to be dignified as a proverb, declares that "New York dresses better than Paris, and San Francisco better than New York." The magnificent hotels and the palaces of a dozen millionaires are unsurpassed, if equaled by anything short of royalty in the luxury of their appointments. There is a large demand for the best that can be had. California consumes twenty thousand dozen of genuine sparkling wine annually, and the Atlantic slope, with fifty times as many people, does not consume seven times as much champagne. California uses sixty pounds of sugar to the person in a year, the Atlantic slope twenty-five, Great Britain forty, France and Holland each twenty, and Italy seven. Coffee is sold to the extent of one pound each for the inhabitants in Great Britain and Italy, three pounds in France, seven in Holland and the Atlantic states, and ten in this state. Of tea, the average Californian drinks six pounds in a twelvemonth, the other American two; the Briton four; the Frenchman and Italian less than a quarter of a pound. The figures for the consumption of many other articles of comfort and luxury are incomplete, a large proportion of our imports coming through New York, and paying duty there, and being forwarded to California under circumstances that leave no opportunity to ascertain their value or amount. Though we consume largely of foreign goods imported at New York, with one fiftieth of the population, we pay one thirtieth of the customs at San Francisco; and the average consumption of foreign products is at least twice as great here as on the Atlantic slope. The extravagance is not confined to a few; it is characteristic of the community generally; and it is worse, relatively, among the poor than the rich. Many of the wealthy families owe their wealth to simplicity of life more than to large gains.

SEC. 240. *Social Spirit.* As we have little hereditary wealth, and most of our great fortunes have been made for their present possessors within a brief time, by bold investments or lucky speculations, and not by occupations requiring much erudition or refinement, so the millionaires and their families are in some cases ignorant of many fashionable usages. Nowhere else will such bad manners be found in families possessing so much wealth. Refinement is the growth of time. People bred in poverty are generally ignorant of many habits familiar to the rich, and when they acquire wealth, the rudeness of their early life often sticks to them. Several generations of inherited wealth, or at least comfortable ease, are necessary to confer a high social polish on some families. This inheritance is lacking among our millionaires, as a class, and so far California is at a disadvantage.

High education is not prized so much here as it is in many Eastern cities. In Boston a circle of nabobs feels uncomfortable unless it has some literary celebrities. Fashion demands a few authors at a social gathering as a needful spice. The man who can write a taking book or magazine article, or deliver a scientific lecture is regarded as one of the attractions of the city, and of any circle which he may favor with his presence. High education there is usually the property of those who have good social positions; and it is often the means of obtaining a large income. Literary and scientific eminence have less pecuniary and social value here than in the East.

Nevertheless, money is less worshipped, and the man is more respected for his moral and intellectual worth here than anywhere else. The charge against California, as compared with the Atlantic states, is a repetition of the one made against those states by European writers. They complained of the almighty dollar; they accused the Americans of being a sordid, grovelling, money-getting, grossly material nation, but they have become tired of the accusation. They see that the Americans are the most extravagant of all people, the most remote from miserly feeling. The charge of money-worship is based on misconceptions. The natural wealth of the country, the relative sparseness of population, the extensive use of machinery, the large tide of immigration, the general education of the people, and the respectability of labor and business, have given facilities for making fortunes much more easily and rapidly than were to be found in the old world; and, therefore, there was more inducement for men to devote themselves to business. The wealthiest people were occupied with money-making in occupations which the wealthy people in Europe had decided to be discreditable. That was the main proof of the pretended sordidness of American society.

It was no proof; it was not even evidence; it did not bear on the main point at issue. The rich Englishman assumed that commerce and mechanical trades are sordid occupations, and that a country where they are held in honor must be sordid. These assumptions were narrow prejudices; and wherever they are accepted, there intellect and morals are relatively less esteemed than where rejected. They are accepted in Europe; they are rejected to a great extent in the Atlantic states; they are rejected to a still greater degree in California. European society is divided into half a dozen different strata, based mainly on occupation; and the members of each strata refuse to associate with those below them. The position of these strata is regulated to a large extent by the estimate of their general pecuniary conditions. The individual counts for little; the class counts for much.

In Europe, and to a considerable extent in the Atlantic states, manual labor excludes a man from fashionable society, and he who once supported himself by hard work can never get rid of its stigma in the opinion of fashionable people, no matter how rich he may become. Wherever such prejudices prevail, there the man is measured by a false standard. They have less influence here than anywhere else. The sand-shoveler and the millionaire may change places to-morrow, and they know it; so the former does not usually cringe nor the other strut when they meet. They measure each other fairly; each has had his ups and downs; each pays the respect due to the character rather than to the money of the other.

Nearly all the rich men and their wives commenced their adult lives with little save a common school education, some without even that; and they had to learn of late years what luxury is, and how it is enjoyed elsewhere by those accustomed to it from childhood. They have traveled; their money has secured admission to the homes of the fashionable in the Atlantic states and Europe; they have observed closely and imitated well; and while here and their one has shown a weak vanity and made a vulgar display of riches, as a general rule the Californian millionaires have worn their wealth modestly, and have not been ashamed of their early poverty, or forgetful of their early friends. So many are now poor who a few years since were rich, and so many rich who a few years since were poor, so many rich people have near relatives among the poor, and there are so many possibilities, if not probabilities, of great change in the future pecuniary positions, that social lines are not drawn according to wealth and occupation, or are drawn less strictly here than elsewhere. The man counts more, and the occupation, family and wealth less socially here than elsewhere.

SEC. 241. *Swarming Out.* San Francisco early became a central hive from which men swarmed out to other places in the basin of the Pacific, and carried progress and powerful influence with them. Hargreaves who had sailed back through the Golden Gate to his former home discovered the placers of Australia. From San Francisco went bands of adventurers to explore the placers of Peru, New Granada, Honduras, various parts of Mexico, British Columbia, Idaho and Arizona. Meiggs, who became the leading railroad builder of South America, was a graduate of the Californian metropolis. The same city furnished E. D. Baker, a federal senator to Oregon, and J. P. Jones and Wm. Sharon to Nevada in the same capacity, and many of their leading men to Arizona, Washington, Utah, British Columbia and the Hawaiian Islands. In the civil war, the former residents of the golden city held some of the highest positions on both sides. Virginia city is half colony and half suburb of the sunset metropolis.

SEC. 242. *Governmental Defects.* Although the municipal administration while under control of the people's or taxpayer's party for nearly twenty years after the reform introduced by the influence of the vigilance committee of 1856, had its admirable features, and both democrats and republicans elected many able and honest men to federal, state and city office, still when we look back, the general impression remains that the American government, as observed in its workings in San Francisco for the last quarter of a century, abounds with most serious defects. The management of the conventions of both the national parties has been to a great extent confided to men, many of whom were considered suspicious, if not notoriously dishonest. Most of the federal senators who reached a dictatorship, more or less qualified in their respective parties, and controlled or tried to control the federal patronage of the state, regarded the maintenance of their power and the gaining of influence to aid them in re-election or in other political advancement as the first consideration, in the distribution of the federal honors and profits, and were ready to turn out the official who refused to pay his personal court, or to render his personal service at needful occasions. The positions that could not be properly filled without experience and without the permanence that is one of the first demands of prudent business, have been treated as public plunder, the enjoyment of which by any one individual for more than four years was a wrong to others who had done as much work for the party, often dirty work, and could not be deprived of their equal share of the spoils without danger of a revolt. Wherever the national political organizations have had control, no matter what their name or who their leader, we see the same management of the primary elections or ward meetings by a few professional politicians; a similar large proportion of absolutely disreputable men in the conventions; the same submission to such associations as if they were inevitable, by men of superior capacity; the same distribution of the offices as rewards for partisan service; the same brief tenure; the same disposition to shield from exposure any fraud committed by an official of their own party; the same silence among the leaders about the corrupting influence of rotation, and the other features of the spoils system; and the same tendency to distribute the profitable offices among those who would be useful lackeys, or at least submissive followers of the leader, or a small ring of leaders.

The average legislator and member of congress in California have favored every abuse that would strengthen their influence in the conventions of their party, or pay a large revenue to their intimate friends. They fawned upon the powerful, assisted fraud in plundering the treasury, and oppressed the helpless victims of popular prejudice at every opportunity. Whenever two classes of the population had conflicting interests which could be affected by legislation, and which were introduced as issues into the political campaign, and one of the classes had no votes, or relatively few, the politicians sided with the other. No senator, no governor, no congressman ever raised his voice in protest against the wrong to individuals, or the injury to the state, unless there was a fair prospect that he would gain more votes at the near elections by his speech than by his silence. In the course of years the hostility to the French miners, to the Spanish grant holders, to the equal taxation of mining property, to the sale of the mines, and to negro testimony in cases affecting white men, were exhausted by the the change of circumstances, and then leading politicians denounced the wrongs, when they could indulge their sympathies without losing votes, or pretend to have sympathies that would add to their popularity. There has always been great zeal for freedom and the common rights of humanity when its exhibition would catch votes.

In no case has the legislature shown any magnanimity or high devotion to justice; though it has often made loud pretensions when it saw a prospect of profit. It devised plans of oppression which the governor, the state courts, or the federal government frustrated. Not less than fifty times within a quarter of a century it has attempted great frauds upon the people, and has been defeated by the gubernatorial veto or by judicial decree. The governors of California have usually been men without any very high moral or intellectual character, but they were so far above the predominant level of the legislatures, and were held to such a direct and undivided responsibility by public opinion, that the veto power entrusted to them has been of inestimable value in the protection of the community against legislative fraud and recklessness.

SEC. 243. *Literature and Art.* The elements of literary activity are numerous in San Francisco, and a good foundation has been laid for successful authorship in the future. The children are well educated; the habit of reading much and in good books is general; the predominant tone of society is intellectual; much of the original as well as of the extracted matter in the daily journals is well written, so that a good standard of taste has been established in the popular mind; and the public libraries are large, well selected and well patronized. An academy of sciences, a microscopical society, and various other scientific associations have for years been accumulating knowledge, and much study has been given to the geology, botany, zoölogy and meteorology of the state. The wealth of the city has made a market for pictures, and half a dozen painters of much merit have established their permanent homes here; most of them giving their attention to landscape, for which abundant material is offered by the grand and varied scenery of the state. A few good figure pieces have been produced here, and many have been obtained from Europe. Few American cities are relatively better provided with distinguished modern paintings. The art association gives two exhibitions annually.

Although San Francisco has no native authors, the city has produced meritorious works in the departments of history, science, jurisprudence, prose romance, poetry, travels, and humorous essay; but they are not high enough in general merit to deserve special mention in a brief historical record like this. As a class the humorous writers have made the most fame, and among these are F. B. Harte, Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain), and G. H. Derby (Phoenix). Harte gained his reputation beyond the limits of California by "The Heathen Chinee," some verses which owed their success not to their poetical merit, for they had none, but to their satire of the popular prejudice against the celestial immigrants. They called attention to better things that had been allowed to pass without notice, and in a few months he became one of the celebrities of the time and the founder of a new school of slangy fiction.

One of the most meritorious literary works done in California, though not the likely to be appreciated at a distance immediately, or ever by general readers, is the codification of the civil, penal and political law of the state. Most of the sections are copied from the codes framed, though not adopted, in New York, but there is enough new matter based on careful researches and original thought to give a genuine Californian character to the legal system, which will probably be copied in many of the other states.

California, and especially San Francisco, where nearly all the authors reside, has made valuable contributions to many branches of literature. Among the names of the law writers are H. W. Halleck, Gregory Yale, John Proffatt, A. C. Freeman; among the medical writers, L. C. Lane and H. H. Toland; among the historical writers, John W. Dwinelle, Franklin Tuthill, and H. H. Bancroft; among the writers of books of travels and adventure, John F. Swift, C. W. Stoddard, Dr. Stillman, Theodore H. Hittell, and Josephine Clifford; and among the humorists, Bret Harte, Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain), and George H. Derby, who first wrote over the signature of Squibob and afterwards of Phoenix; and among the descriptive writers, B. P. Avery, B. E. Lloyd, and C. B. Turrill. "The Native Races of the Pacific States," by H. H. Bancroft, is an archaeological work upon which a vast amount of research has been expended; and the "American Decisions," a compilation of the reports of the supreme courts of all the American states from 1775 to 1869, to fill seventy-five large volumes, edited by John Proffatt, and published in San Francisco, is one of the leading literary enterprises of our time; and H. H. Bancroft is now engaged upon another of still greater magnitude in the amount of literary labor required, an elaborate history of the western slope of our continent.

Edward Pollock combined vigorous poetic fire with correct taste, and several of his pieces deserve to be counted among the best produced in our state, if not in our continent. Though "Evening" is inferior to many of his other poems, we make an extract from it on account of its local character:

The air is chill and the day grows late,
And the clouds come in through the Golden Gate;
Phantom fleets they seem to me,
From a shoreless and unsounded sea;
Their shadowy spars and misty sails,
Unshattered, have weathered a thousand gales;
Slow wheeling, lo! in squadrons gray,
They part and hasten along the bay,
Each to its anchorage finding way.
Where the hills of Saucelito swell,
Many in gloom may shelter well;

And others—behold! unchallenged pass
By the silent guns of Alcatraz;
No greetings of thunder and flame exchange
The armed isle and the cruisers strange.
Their meteor flags, so widely blown,
Were blazoned in a land unknown;
So charmed from war, or wind, or tide,
Along the quiet wave they glide.

Frank Soulé, whose name and writings are familiar to Californians, especially the early residents, has written much that has been received with high favor. "Watching beside Him" is one of his best pieces:

The leaves turn yellow on the mournful willow,
  November's waves are sighing on the shore;
And there's a fading cheek upon the pillow,
    That shall feel health no more.
The leaves are falling and my friend is dying,
  Comes the destroyer nearer day by day,
And like the leaves on Autumn's breezes flying,
    His poor life flits away.
But now the foliage and his life were vernal,
  How soon their Spring and Summer glow hath fled!
I would have had their beauty made eternal—
    Ah me! but dust instead!

The leaves have fallen! on the Autumn eddies,
The last pale spectres float and disappear,
And one poor body—there his quiet bed is—
Is all that's left me here.
All that is left me of his manly powers,
All that is left of life so good and brief,
All faded like the first frost-bitten flowers,
And Autumn's withered leaf.
In night's dark hours his spirit spread her pinions,
Left in our clinging arms alone his form,
Heaven lighted through the dark's obscure dominions,
The starless gloom and storm.

While by his faded form so sad and lonely,
I sit, O mighty Monarch, I implore:
Tell me, is life but this, this tell me only
This and no more?
A few fair hopes, that never can be real,
A few joys passing like the fleeting breath?
Is immortality but an ideal
That terminates with death?
Of all I loved so much, so dearly treasured,
His manly beauty and his comely grace,
By this dear faded form may life be measured,
And this pale, silent face?

There comes no answer, though my heart is crying,
No message from the spirit gone before,
I hear, instead, the yeasty waves replying
In sobs upon the shore.
I hear the night-winds in the branches toning,
Or rustling with the sere and fallen leaf,
Their sad responses to my inward moaning,
In pity to my grief.
And so in loneliness, and doubt, and sorrow,
I listen to each night hour's lagging tread,
And silent wait the coming of to-morrow,
In watch beside the dead.

Charles Warren Stoddard, who of late years has neglected the muses, has shown in his earlier life decided poetical talent, though there is always a promise of more than he has yet accomplished. These lines are his:

When my little love at purple dusk,
  Trips out upon the lawn among the flowers,
The blushing roses quiver in their musk,
  Love-smitten through; the feathery fragrant showers
Of snow-white blossoms drift upon the grass,
Kissing her whispering footsteps as they pass.

When my little love at evening's hush,
  Goes dancing down the dell with laugh and song,
The slumbering echoes waken and a gush
  Of silvery voices greets her, and along
The dewy clusters of the trailing vines
In music mingles, murmurs and repines.

Among our poets Ina D. Coolbrith has a high place, and various pieces from her pen will probably be preserved to distant times. The person who can read without being touched her lines entitled "The Mother's Grief," is not to be envied:

So fair the sun rose, yester-morn,
  The mountain cliffs adorning!
The golden tassels of the corn
  Danced in the breath of morning;
The cool, clear stream that runs before,
  Such happy words was saying;
And in the open cottage door
  My pretty babe was playing.
Aslant the sill a sunbeam lay—
  I laughed in careless pleasure,
To see his little hand essay
  To grasp the shining treasure.

To-day no shafts of golden flame
  Across the sill are lying;
To-day I call my baby's name,
  And hear no lisped replying;
To-day—ah, baby mine, to-day—
  God holds thee in his keeping!
And yet I weep, as one pale ray
  Breaks in upon thy sleeping;
I weep to see its shining bands
  Reach, with a fond endeavor,
To where the little restless hands
  Are crossed in rest forever!

Many pages of the most distinguished poets are filled with lines inferior in depth of feeling and merit of versification to that little piece.

Josephine Walcott longed in her early youth to visit California, and having now made her home in the state, thus addresses it:

It haunted me amid the sunrise splendor—
  A golden dream of sunset and of thee;
'Mid dusky woodlands or by shining rivers,
  On granite hilltops, or by Orient sea.

* * * * *

Fair land of sunset, my young dream fulfilling—
  For I have followed thy sweet thought, O youth!
And from thy purple hills and golden heather
  Shall sing new bards, with grand prophetic truth.

Thy seas shall bear white ships to safest harbor;
  Thy valleys yield sweet wealth of fruit and grain;
Thy regal hillsides glow with purple vintage;
  Thy tender skies fall Summer sun and rain.

Thy sons shall be as gods of classic story;
  Thy regal daughters noble, fair and strong.
From thy new world shall rise immortal heroes,
  O golden land of labor, art and song!

Emilie Lawson is another sweet singer of whom California may be proud. She writes with an even inspiration, when she does write, but, like many others, finds little leisure for the indulgence of poetic fancy. The following, entitled "What Does it Matter?" is from her pen:

What does it matter, dear, though I go soon,
Before the golden cups are gathered all;
Before the burning heat of Summer noon,
Or the cold storm of Autumn-time shall fall;
What does it matter? If I sooner go,
Wearing unfaded violets on my breast—
With loaded wains, the reapers, tired and slow,
Will sighing pass the grasses o'er my rest,
And sighing, drop a tear—
What will it matter, dear?

What will it matter, sweet, if I grow old,
And Summer's pleasant fields grow bleak and bare,
A few brief days of sunshine or of cold,
A few short hours of pleasure or of care?
What will it matter if I wearier stay
To reap the fruitage of the sober Fall,
To put the earlier gathered flowers away;
What is the gain or loss if, after all,
A little longer stay my feet—
What will it matter, sweet?

What matters it, dear heart, if far or near
Waits the Death Angel—noiselessly and dumb;
For, if I stay, love-fetters bind me here,
And, if I go, dear voices whisper, Come!
Though dark and thick the shadows intervene,
The clouds are sometimes rifted, and I see
The beautiful dim vale that lies between
The world that is and that which is to be—
Only a step apart—
What matters it, dear heart?

Joaquin Miller shows in many passages that he has strong poetical talent; but his works are uneven, and most of them are published prematurely, without the patient polish. We have not at hand any of the passages that have seemed to us to be his best, and for a quotation we must be content with the following tribute to the local pride of our state:

Dared I but say a prophecy,
As sung the holy men of old,
Of rock-built cities yet to be
Along those shining shores of gold,
Crowding athirst into the sea,
What wondrous marvels might be told!
Enough to know that empire here
Shall burn her loftiest brightest star;
Here art and eloquence shall reign,
As o'er the wolf-reared realm of old;
Here learned and famous from afar,
To pay their noble court shall come,
And shall not seek or see in vain,
But look on all with wonder dumb.

Bret Harte has, in a high degree, some of the qualities required for the successful poet, but most of his verses are seriously defective in some material point.

About twenty years ago, when flumes (wooden aqueducts carrying the water of mining ditches over ravines sometimes two hundred feet deep) were prominent features in the scenery and contributed much to the wealth of the state, Mrs. Thomas Fitch (as her name is now), wrote "The Song of the Flume," the best effort to throw the charm of poetry upon any branch of Californian mining industry. It says:

I sought the shore of the sounding sea
  From the far Sierra's height,
With a starry breast and a snow-capped crest,
  I foamed in a path of light;
But they bore me thence in a winding way—
  They fettered me like a slave,
And as serfs of old were sold for gold,
  So they bartered my soil-stained wave.

* * * * * *

Lift me aloft to the mountain brow!
  Fathom the deep blue vein!
And I'll sift the soil for the shining toil,
  As I sink to the valley again;
The swell of my swarthy breast shall bear
  Pebble and rock away,
Though they brave my strength, they shall yield at length,
  And the glittering gold shall stay.

Many others have written verses in California, at least as good as some here quoted, but copies of their best pieces are not within convenient reach. Among the poets who are dismissed with a mere mention of the name, are James F. Bowman, Daniel O'Connell, F. H. Gassaway, Mrs. E. A. Simonton Page and Lyman Goodman.

SEC. 244. *Condition in 1878.* The business of San Francisco is very active. In 1877 the clearing-house transactions amounted to $500,000,000; the stock sales (for which it was a dull year) to $120,000,000; the exports (including $73,000,000 of treasure, and $41,000,000 of merchandise) to $114,000,000;

the coinage to $46,000,000; the real estate sales to $18,000,000; and the taxes collected to $13,771,000, including $6,700,000 of duties on imports, $1,900,000 of federal internal revenue, $3,423,000 for the support of the municipal government and $1,754,000 contributed to the state government. The street work (grading, sewering, paving, etc.) cost $1,860,000, and most of this sum paid by the owners of lots fronting on the streets improved is not counted in the $3,423,000 of city revenue previously mentioned. One fourth of the revenue of the city, and more than a fourth of that of the state, is spent in maintaining free schools. The city has a debt of $3,500,000, relatively one of the smallest city debts in the United States.

California has a total area of 100,000,000 acres, including 30,000,000 held under private ownership, 20,000,000 of unoccupied federal land valuable for cultivation; only 4,000,000 under cultivation, 2,500,000 bearing temperate fruit trees, 300,000 bearing sub-tropical fruit trees, 400,000 English walnut and almond trees; 30,000,000 grape vines; 6,000,000 sheep; 200 gold quartz mills; 4,000 miles of mining ditches; private property worth not less than $1,000,000,000, and an industry that adds $30,000,000 annually in the shape of houses, fences, roads, canals, street improvements, orchards, reclamation dykes, and so forth, to the wealth of the state. She has besides, what is worth more than all her pecuniary treasuries, a population of about 875,000 people of the best blood and highest intelligence of the age; and her excellent school system and able press give assurance that her inhabitants in the future shall not be inferior to those in the present. There is a nominal state debt of $3,300,000, but $2,700,000 of this is due to certain departments of the state government, leaving a true debt of only $600,000. The counties owe $12,000,000 of funded and floating debt, and have public buildings and other property worth considerably more.

SEC. 245. *Conclusion.* The first era of San Francisco was that of the Indians. They lived in a low stage of savagism, and left no arts, no literature, no legend, no institutions, no durable monuments of their own designing, and no names worthy of perpetuation. The red men who occupied the site of the city and its vicinity in 1776, have, so far as we know, not a living descendant anywhere, having died out entirely from the face of the earth.

The Mission Era continued for forty-nine years, from 1776 to 1835, and was a period of ecclesiastical rule, in which the chief purposes of life were worship, self-humiliation, and quiet submission to the church authorities, without anxiety or even effort to keep up with the fashion, learning, or political or intellectual progress of the age. The Indians learned little of the arts of civilization, never adopted its spirit, and steadily decreased in numbers, so that, unless there had been a change in the ratio of births to deaths, the race must have died out at no distant time even if it had never been subjected to additional demoralizing influences of the Mexican revolution, secularization, the American conquest, American immigration, and the reservation system.

The Village Era began when the control of the mission property, including the whole peninsula for thirty miles from the Golden Gate, was taken from the friars, and given to the civil authorities. The promise of the government that land, agricultural implements and cattle should be furnished to the Indians was not kept; the personal property disappeared in an unexplained manner, and the red men made no application for lots or ranchos. Large tracts of land on the peninsula were granted to the Mexican residents, who lived in the pastoral condition on the produce of their neat cattle, with little labor, ambition or education. On the shore of Yerba Buena cove rose a village which was the chief shipping port of San Francisco bay under the Mexican dominion, and from the time when the stars and stripes were hoisted, the chief center of American business and influence on the western side of our continent.

Before the title of the United States to the new territory on the Pacific had been fully acknowledged, the Golden Era began. The yield of the mines rose for five years until it reached about $60,000,000. Several hundred thousand immigrants came from the shores of the Atlantic, and gave to California a population unsurpassed in enterprise and intelligence. A government was organized; the state admitted into the Union; a metropolitan city built; and commodious routes of travel established, connecting San Francisco with the mines on one side, and New York on the other. The mines being on public land, were thrown open to everybody, aliens as well as citizens, without charge; and the government would not sell homes to those who wished to buy for the purpose of settlement, so that the population became migratory as a matter of necessity, and the more numerous the miners, the more the district was impoverished.

The period from 1854 to 1859 inclusive, called here "The Golden Era in Decline," was marked by a decrease in the gold yield, which was not arrested by the discovery of the vast deposits of auriferous gravel in the dead rivers of the Sierra Nevada, the invention of the hydraulic process of washing, and its application on an immense scale, and the construction of a dozen great mining ditches, which in length, supply of water, height of aqueducts and boldness of engineering design might rival some of the most famous water-works of old and populous empires. The increase of agricultural production caused a falling off in the shipping and imports of San Francisco, and a depression in her business. The immigration to California across the continent, after having numbered twenty thousand as an annual average for four years after the gold discovery, became insignificantly small, and that by sea was much reduced, though the completion of the Panama railroad made the trip cheaper and more comfortable than before, though a comparison of the arrivals and departures, showed a relatively slight excess for the former, there was a great gain in the quality of the population, for many solitary men were replaced by women and children who gave to California social attractions previously lacking. The political abuses which had been overlooked in more prosperous times provoked the indignation of good citizens and the vigilance committee of 1856, the wisest, justest and most prudent association ever organized to violate the law, held power for three months, punished a multitude of criminals and purified the city government, which was then for fifteen years placed in charge of officials selected under rules that allowed little influence to the system of partisan spoils. The southern part of the county was cut off to make San Mateo, while "the city and county of San Francisco," as now styled in law was organized under the consolidation act. In 1858 it was reported and extensively believed that gold mines, as rich and extensive as those of the Sierra Nevada were in 1848, had been discovered in the basin of Fraser river; and so large was the migration to that region, so extensive the preparations of others to follow, and so depressed many branches of occupation, that in the opinion of many persons California and San Francisco were about to sink, for some years at least, into subordinate places in the business of the western side of our continent. The failure of Adams & Co., and of Page, Bacon & Co., the frauds and flight of Harry Meiggs, the election of D. C. Broderick to the federal senate, and his death in a duel with D. S. Terry, who had resigned his office as chief justice of the supreme court of the state for the purpose of resenting a public insult, were other events of this era.

The last period in the history of San Francisco, from 1860 to 1878, is here called "The Silver Era," because of the great influence exerted on the city's business by the yield of bullion from the argentiferous deposits of Nevada. The increase of grain fields, orchards, vineyards, dairies, sheep, irrigation ditches, manufactures, and railroads, the connection by an iron track with the Atlantic slope, the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge about the scenery, salubrity and climate of the state, and the general recognition of San Francisco as one of the chief centers of luxurious enjoyment contributed to give it a prosperity higher in many respects than it had during the flush times of placer mining.

We have thus traced the growth of San Francisco, this metropolitan prodigy, this young municipal giant, from its small and rude beginnings, through a brief career, to its present condition of magnitude and magnificence, through a record without its like elsewhere in the variety, multitude and startling character of its impressive incidents. The city, as it now stands, is an embodiment of the highest enlightenment of our time, one of the most brilliant products and greatest triumphs of the industrial art, commerce, wealth and intelligence of the nineteenth century, and a splendid illustration of the popular energy developed under the free political institutions of the United States,—institutions which, seriously defective as they are in some important respects, have yet given a stimulus to enterprise which no people under a despotic government have ever approached.

APPENDIX.

AUTHORITIES.

I give my authorities in this appendix rather than in foot-notes, but in many places it is implied by the nature of events and the enterprise of the newspaper press that full accounts can be found in the public journals of the day. Some of my information is obtained from my own recollections, notes and publications, and more from conversation with citizens who participated in the events described.

Among those to whom I am indebted are Mrs. Carmen Bernal, a native of San José, who came as a bride only fifteen years old, in 1819, to live at the Mission, and Mr. Charles Brown, who came to San Francisco in 1829. These are the oldest residents of San Francisco.

I must express my obligations to the chronological tables, extending from 1857 to 1877, in the directories published by H. G. Langley, and in the Sacramento "Union" from 1860 to 1878. Similar tables appeared from 1873 to 1877, in the "Alta Almanac."

The following is a list of books and periodicals to which I am indebted for information:

"Daily Alta California," newspaper; the "Alta California Almanac," 1868 to 1879.

"Annals of San Francisco," by Frank Soulé, J. H. Gihon and James Nisbet. This work gives a history of the city in the form of a diary from January, 1847, to June, 1854. With many defects, it contains much interesting information, well presented. Besides its text, it has engravings of many of the notable buildings, portraits and brief biographies of pioneers, and special chapters on the hounds, the vigilance committee of 1851, cemeteries, churches, schools, amusements, fires, fire department, hotels, and steamer days.

"Native Races of the Pacific States," by H. H. Bancroft, 1875. 5 vols.

"Daily Evening Bulletin," newspaper.

"Men and Memories of San Francisco in the Spring of '50," by T. A. Barry and B. A. Patten, San Francisco, 1878. Personal reminiscences of men, buildings and events, with many amusing anecdotes, written in an agreeable style.

"Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific, under the command of F. W. Beechey. London, 1831. Chapter XIII treats of the condition of the Missions in 1826.

"Daily Morning Call," newspaper.

"Our Centennial Memoir Founding of the Missions, San Francisco de Asis in its hundredth year. The celebration of its foundation," compiled by P. J. Thomas, San Francisco, 1877.

"Daily San Francisco Chronicle," newspaper.

Two journals of this name have flourished in San Francisco; the first established in 1855, by Frank Soulé, existed till the spring of 1858; the Chronicle now in existence was founded in 1865, by C. & M. H. De Young.

"Directory of San Francisco, 1857," by Samuel Colville. The introduction is a good historical sketch of the city from 1835 to 1856. The book contains the names of the officers of the vigilance committee of 1856, and though this list is declared on a subsequent page to be incorrect, there are few errors in it.

"The Commercial Herald and Market Review." This is a weekly commercial paper, established in 1867, and still flourishing. The number issued about the middle of January contains a comprehensive review of the commerce and general industry of the state for the preceding year. Most of the figures published in the statistical tables on a subsequent page are taken from the "Herald."

"The Conquest of California," by J. M. Cutts, 1847. Mr. Cutts derives a large part of the material of his work from the government records at Washington, and gives copies of documents not easily obtained elsewhere.

"Colonial History of San Francisco," by John W. Dwinelle. Mr. Dwinelle was counsel for the city in her suit for four square leagues of land in the United States courts, and in that capacity gathered much of the information here presented. He devotes most of his space to events that happened between 1835 and 1846; and gives copies of many legal documents.

"Daily Examiner," newspaper.

"First Steamship Pioneers," edited by a committee of the association, 1874. A record of the voyage of the steamship "California" from Panama to San Francisco in February, 1849, and of the adventures of her passengers, between New York and San Francisco, and after their arrivals.

"Life Adventures and Travels in California," by T. J. Farnham.

"A History of Upper and Lower California," by Alexander Forbes, 1839.

"A History of the Catholic Church in California," by Rev. Mr. Gleeson, 1874.

"Centennial Year Book of Alameda County," by William Halley, 1876, pp. 590. This volume contains a history of Oakland.

"Resources of California," by John S. Hittell. 6th edition, 1874. pp. 450. This book has comprehensive chapters on the topography, climate, salubrity, geology, botany, zoology, agriculture, mining, manufactures, commerce and society of the state.

"Hutchings' Monthly Magazine, 1857 to 1860." This publication contains chronological lists of the notable events of San Francisco in 1859 and 1860.

"Voyage Autour du Monde," par J. F. G. La Perouse, 1797. He speaks of the condition of the Indians at the Missions without praise.

"Directory of San Francisco," by H. G. Langley, 1858 to 1878. Mr. Langley issued his first directory in 1858, and followed it with new volumes at intervals of about a year. Each volume contains a chronological table of events for the previous year, and gives an estimate of the population, and new buildings, and descriptions of the most notable improvements.

"Lights and shades in San Francisco," by B. E. Lloyd, 1876. Pp. 500. A description of prominent features of San Francisco life as seen in 1876. Stock speculation, the Palace Hotel, restaurants, the disreputable quarters, W. C. Ralston, James Lick, street railroads, the newspapers, the hotels, the schools, the churches, the theatres, the clubs, the fortifications, the charities, the markets, and the cemeteries, have each their special chapter.

"Missions." A series of eleven volumes of Spanish archives in the office of the United States surveyor-general for California. The volumes contain nearly all the statistics preserved of the Mission of San Francisco.

"Missions and Colonization." Another series of volumes in the Spanish archives.

"Hotels and Hotel Life at San Francisco," by W. L. Macgregor, 1876. Pp. 45.

"Municipal Reports of the City and County of San Francisco." A series of annual reports, commencing in 1861, giving the information for each fiscal year since. The volumes are designated in the references by mention of the year in which published. If for 1865–66, for instance, it was published in the latter year, and is styled the report of 1866. The following references to these volumes may be of service: Gas supply, 1875, appendix. Table of grades, 1874, 683; 1877, 633. Pueblo title, 1868. A list of railroad franchises, 1874, 659; 1877, 604. Accepted streets, 1877, 967, 1009. Montgomery avenue, 1873, 490. Widening Dupont street, 1877, 1025. List of city property, 1873, 518; 1877, 929. Water rates, projects and litigation, 1877, 669. Outside lands, 1868, 549; 1869, 553; 1871, 429. City officials from 1850 to 1867; 1860, 183; 1863, 285; 1867, 521.

"Exploration du Territoire de L'Oregon, des Californies, etc.," par Duflot de Mofras, 1844. This work has a good account of California as it was in 1842, but exaggerates the value of the missionary labor.

"Noticias de la Nueva California." A collection of Spanish records of the movements of the friars in Upper California, between 1769 and 1787, with much relating to the foundation of the Mission of San Francisco. Friar Palou wrote most of their book.

"The Overland Monthly," from July, 1868, to December, 1875. This magazine contains a number of carefully written articles upon San Francisco and California.

"The Pioneer Magazine," from January, 1854, to December, 1855. Besides several good articles on local topics, this magazine published a chronological list of events for the two years of its existence.

"Daily San Francisco Evening Post." In December, 1876, the "Post" contained a valuable series of articles on the harbor of San Francisco and the work of the harbor commission, and in the fall of 1878 a series of reminiscences by Judge McGowan.

"Provincial State Papers in Spanish Archives."

"Oration at the Annual Celebration of the Society of California Pioneers in 1860," by Edmund Randolph. A long and able address, containing much information about the early history of California.

"The Appendix" to the journals of each session of the legislative journal contains the reports of executive officers of the state administration. The "Adjutant-general's Report for 1865" gives the list of the members of the ten regiments of California volunteers who served through the civil war, most of them west of the Rocky Mountains. The report for 1867 contains a history of the California battalion which went East and served there.

"Vida de Junipero Serra," por Fray Francisco Palou. The biography of Junipero Serra, the president of missions of California from 1769 to 1784, written by Francisco Palou, his companion and friend, includes an account of the foundation of the missions.

"A Voyage Round the World," by Sir George Simpson. Simpson visited San Francisco in 1841, and gives an account of it as it was then.

"Seeking the Golden Fleece," by J. D. B. Stillman, 1877. Pp. 340. This volume gives an excellent account of the gold excitement in the Atlantic states, the adventures of a shipload of adventurers coming round Cape Horn in 1849, and life in San Francisco and the mines in 1849-50.

"History of the Public School System of California," by John Swett, 1876. Pp. 250.

"The History of California," by Franklin Tuthill, 1866. Pp. 640. A good history, and especially full in the chapter on the vigilance committee of 1856.

"The Daily Sacramento Union," newspaper.

"Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific," by George Vancouver. Vancouver visited San Francisco in 1792, and described the condition of the Presidio. Chapter XI treats of the missions, and conveys the impression that the Indians were still in a semi-savage condition.

"The United States Exploring Expedition," by George Wilkes.

REFERENCES.

Such a reference as this, "Alta, 1856, VI, 5," means "Daily Alta," 1856, sixth month, fifth day; that is, June 5, 1856. The roman numerals after the year indicate the number of the month, the Arabic the day. In the references to books, unless otherwise marked, the roman numerals indicate the volume and the Arabic the page.

For evidence that force was used in catching Indians for conversion, see "Beechey," chapter XIII; "Forbes," chapter V; "Gleeson;" "Vancouver," chapter XI; and "Belcher," Vol. I, Ch. V.

Dwinelle in his address at the Centennial Anniversary of the foundation of the Mission over-estimated the income.

Mofras (I, 320) and Dwinelle (44) in my opinion exaggerate the merits of the missionary labor, and the evils of secularization.

Dwinelle (26), in his "Colonial History," says there were at the Mission of San Francisco, in 1794, 724 men and women, and 189 boys and girls; in 1800, 575 men and women, and 69 boys and girls respectively; in 1815, 913 adults and 182 minors; and in 1830, 193 adults and 26 minors. These figures imply that there were never fewer than four adults for one minor, and sometimes eight. In civilized nations generally there are at least five minors for four adults. Mr. Dwinelle understands the Spanish word *adultos*, as given in the mission records to mean adults. But this is a mistake. *Adultos* there signifies persons over eight years. If the proportion between adults and minors were correctly represented, the figures would prove that the influence of the missions upon the life of the Indians was much more destructive than it really was.

Full information about nearly all the land grants is given in Dwinelle's "Colonial History."

Dwinelle, on page 78 of his "Appendix" gives a list of the people living at the Mission in 1842.

The best authorities upon the conquest are "Cutts" and the "Annals." The "Call" of March 11, 1877, gives a list of the residents of Yerba Buena at the time of the conquest.

Governmental affairs of the city from 1849 to 1854, are treated at considerable length, and with general accuracy in the "Annals."

Hoffman's Report contains a list of the land cases before the commission, with the areas of the claims and disposition made of them. The squatter law called an act to quiet titles was passed March 26, 1856. A copy of Gwin's supplemental land bill may be found in the "Alta," 1856, XII, 12.

For an account of Broderick's early career see the "Chronicle" of June 16, 1876.

The campaign speeches of 1859, published by the "Sacramento Union," contain most of the material required for a history of the senatorial election of 1857. See speeches by Broderick, reported on the eleventh, nineteenth and twentieth of July; and on the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, tenth, eighteenth and twenty-sixth of August; by Gwin on the fifteenth, eighteenth and twenty-ninth of July, and on the first, second and fifteenth of August; by Latham on the twenty-third of July, and on the third and twelfth of August, and by Tilford on the fourth of August. A letter by Tilford that appeared on the twenty-second of July, and one by Gwin on the fifteenth of August, and a pamphlet by Pixley on the twenty-sixth of August, were also part of the campaign.

For the early history of the Comstock lode see a series of papers published in the "Mining and Scientific Press" for 1876 and 1877. The precise dates can be ascertained from the index published at the end of each year.

For the early history of the Consolidated Virginia bonanza, see "Post" 1876, I, 13.

The deeds of James Lick to his trustees are given in the "Alta Almanac" of 1875, 1876 and 1877.

A history of the press of the state and a list of nearly all the papers up to that date is given in the "Sacramento Union," 1858, XII, 25.

For testimony in reference to Ralston's use of the money of the Bank of California, over-issue of stock, etc., see the "Bulletin" of July 27, 1876.

The following are references to comprehensive articles in various publications:

History of the California Steam Navigation Co., "Bulletin," 1876, X, 11.

Names of Residents of Yerba Buena in July, 1846, "Call," 1877, III, 11.

Dividends of Gas and Water Companies, 1867-1876, "Bulletin," 1877, IV.

List of Stars at the California Theatre, 1869-77, "Spirit of the Times," 1877, V, 5.

Blunders in the management of the public lands in California, "Alta," 1877, XII, 5.

Number of votes cast by the leading towns of California at the Presidential election, Nov. 7, 1876, "Alta Almanac," 1877, 37.

History of San Francisco Cemeteries, "Call," 1877, IV, 19; V, 13.

Notable wrecks on the coast, 1849-1877, "Chronicle," 1877, IX, 23, 30.

In August and September, 1877, the "Chronicle" published a number of carefully prepared articles, giving the history and production of the leading Comstock mines.

History of the Supreme Court of California, "Alta Almanac for 1874."

History of "Morning Call," newspaper; "Call," 1878, III, 10.

History of Savings Banks of San Francisco, "Call," 1877, VII, 22.

Officials of San Francisco and their pay, "Bulletin," 1877, VI, 23.

Millionaires of San Francisco, "Bulletin," 1877, VII, 21.

History and condition of San Francisco churches, "Bulletin," 1877, VII, 21.

History of banking in California, "Coast Review," 1877, V. "Post," 1877, III, 30.

History of wholesale grocery business in San Francisco, "Bulletin," 1878, I, 11.

Election frauds, "Bulletin," 1877, IX, 15.

History of Oakland water front, "Oakland Transcript," 1877, X, 26.

History of elections of federal senators in California, "Bulletin," 1877, XII, 10.

List of nominees at all state elections, 1849-1877, "Bulletin," 1877, XII.

History of Golden Gate Park, "Bulletin," 1878, I, 26.

The governors of California since its organization as a state have been the following, with the dates of their installation: Peter H. Burnett, Dec. 20, 1849; John McDougall, Jan. 9, 1851; John Bigler, Jan. 8, 1852; John Bigler, Jan. 8, 1854; J. Neely Johnson, Jan. 8, 1856; John B. Weller, Jan. 8, 1858; Milton S. Latham, Jan. 8, 1860; John G. Downey, Jan. 14, 1860; Leland Stanford, Jan. 8, 1862; Frederick F. Low, Dec. 2, 1863; Henry H. Haight, Dec. 5, 1867; Newton Booth, Dec. 8, 1871; Romualdo Pacheco, Feb. 27, 1875; and William Irwin, Dec. 9, 1875.

McDougall, Downey and Pacheco were elected to the office of lieutenant-governor, but succeeded to the office of governor when Burnett, Latham and Booth resigned. The term before 1863 was two years; afterwards four years.

The following is a list of the chief executive officers of the town and city since the American conquest, with the dates of their installation: W. A. Bartlett, July 9, 1846; Edwin Bryant, Feb. 22, 1847; George Hyde, June, 1847; T. M. Leavenworth, April, 1848; J. W. Geary, Aug. 1, 1849; J. W. Geary, May 1, 1850; C. J. Brenham, April 28, 1851; S. R. Harris, Sept. 3, 1851; C. J. Brenham, Nov. 2, 1851; C. K. Garrison, Sept. 7, 1853; S. P. Webb, Sept. 3, 1854; James Van Ness, May 28, 1855; E. W. Burr, July 1, 1856; H. F. Teschemacher, July 1, 1859—July 1, 1862; H. P. Coon, July 1, 1863; Frank McCoppin, Dec. 2, 1867; T. H. Selby, July 1, 1869; Wm. Alvord, July 1, 1871; James Otis, July 1, 1873; George Hewston, Nov. 4, 1875; A. J. Bryant, Dec. 4, 1875.

Before May 1, 1850, the title of the chief executive officer was alcalde; from that day till July 1, 1856, mayor; then for six years, president of the board of supervisors; and since July 1, 1862, mayor.

I have inserted in the text, without quotation marks several short passages written by me and previously published.

Instead of "monkish," on page 39, the word should be "monastic;" and on page 55, "afternoon mass" should be "afternoon prayers."

STATISTICS.

The dividends paid by the mining companies incorporated in San Francisco had in the sixteen years ending with 1877, amounted to $113,000,000, and the assessments to $65,000,000.

The aggregate value of the shares listed in the San Francisco stock boards was at the market rates $284,000,000, on one day of January, 1875, and $92,000,000, in a day of November of the same year, making a fluctuation of $192,000,000 in eleven months. The largest variation in any one month was $139,000,000, the smallest $21,000,000; the average for each month counting only from the highest to the lowest $50,000,000.

The assessed value of the land and buildings within the city limits west of Larkin and Ninth streets and south of Mission creek, was $1,200,000 in 1860, and in 1876 more than $50,000,000.

The number of street lamps increased more than tenfold from 1860 to 1876.

The banking capital of California at the close of 1876, as shown by full statistics in the "Bulletin" of February 10, 1877, was $182,000,000 (including capital and deposits), and San Francisco had four fifths of the whole.

At the end of 1876 there were 27,000 buildings in San Francisco, and of these 4,390 were of brick, and nearly all the others of wood. Of 1600 houses erected in 1876, all save 36 were of wood.

The following condensed statistics furnish in a small space much information about the growth and present condition of the industry and traffic of San Francisco and California. For explanations see the remarks after each table:

YEAR.	Population in Thousands.		Houses Built in San Francisco.	MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.								Miles of Railroad Built.
				Deposit in Savings Banks.						Central Pacific Railroad.		
	San Francisco.	Oakland.		San Francisco.	Interior.	Total Dividends.	Mining Dividends.	Mining Assessments.	Stock Sales.	Earnings.	Expenses.	
1858	61	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
1859	78	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
1860	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
1861	83	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
1862	92	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
1863	103	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	16	......	......	48
1864	113	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	26	......	......	31
1865	110	......	1075	......	......	......	2	2	49	......	......	166
1866	......	5	......	10	......	......	2	1	33	1	......	18
1867	131	6	1030	17	1	......	4	1	53	1	......	245
1868	148	6	975	22	1	......	2	2	116	2	1	111
1869	170	8	850	27	2	......	1	1	69	6	3	176
1870	......	10	900	31	5	8	2	......	61	7	4	110
1871	173	11	828	37	7	-11	5	......	128	9	4	63
1872	178	13	600	42	9	......	......	......	190	12	5	195
1873	184	19	671	52	11	20	13	7	146	13	5	85
1874	201	22	1339	55	14	20	12	7	200	14	5	140
1875	230	27	1380	56	14	30	15	12	220	17	7	183
1876	270	23	1600	60	14	30	24	12	226	19	17	257
1877	306	43	1250	......	......	30	23	13	120	17	15	300

The population of San Francisco for various years from 1858 to 1876, as given above in thousands, and the number of new buildings in the city are taken from the estimates in Langley's directories. The similar figures for the population of Oakland are from local estimates. The amounts of money deposited in the savings banks of San Francisco, and in those of other towns of California, the dividends by all companies and by mining companies, the assessments levied by mining companies, and the earnings and expenses of the Central Pacific railroad company, are in millions of dollars. The statistics on this table, save those about Oakland, the interior savings banks, and the miles of railroad built, relate to the business of San Francisco.

In the following table the taxable property of San Francisco, Oakland, and the state, the amount of real estate sales in San Francisco and Oakland, the sums collected as federal revenue, and those paid as freights on cargoes coming from foreign and domestic Pacific ports (those from domestic Pacific ports are not included), are in millions of dollars; the amounts of freight from Panama and China, and by rail passing across the continent westward and eastward, are given in thousands of tons; and the expenses of the city government of San Francisco are in thousands of dollars. The westward railroad freight includes all received at Ogden from California; the eastward freight includes only that from San Francisco, San José, Stockton, Sacramento and Marysville for Ogden or points beyond. The years are calendar years.

YEAR.	MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.							FREIGHT IN THOUSANDS OF TONS.				San Francisco City Expenses in $1000.
	Taxable Property.			Real Estate Sales.		Federal Revenue.	Freights Money.					
	San Francisco.	Oakland.	State.	San Francisco.	Oakland.			From Panama.	From China.	From East by Rail.	To East by Rail.	
1850						2						6'0
1851	22		68			2						1813
1852	14		49			2						456
1853	18		65			2	12					1009
1854	29		95			1	5					1832
1855	35		111			2	4					2646
1856	33		104			2	5					856
1857	30		95			1	3					353
1858	35		123	4								336
1859	31		124	7								481
1860	35		131	9				8				745
1861	36		148					11				579
1862	42		148	9				18				592
1863	67		160	11				28				700
1864	77	1	174	11			8	31				785
1865	81	1	190	12		7	7	25				915
1866	88	1	184	14		12	7	33				1086
1867	97	1	201	18	2	12	7	32				1315
1868	100	2	212	27	3	13	6	68				1462
1869	106	3	237	30	3	12	6	38	13			2295
1870	115	4	261	16	2	11	3	11	19	18	11	2461
1871	106	5	278	13	2	10	3	18	20	42	33	2538
1872	105	5	268	13	2	11	5	27	19	57	41	2723
1873	200	7	637	12	2	10	5	22	30	64	43	2986
1874	212	19	529	24	3	10	4	29	26	81	71	3098
1875	261	20	611	36	4	10	5	27	33	117	57	3596
1876	269	22	517	24	8	10	5			120	67	3964
1877	254	25	595	19	9	9	4				54	3471

In the table following, the rain-fall is given from the figures of Thomas Tennent, for the crop year extending from July 1st to June 30th, and the number of the year is taken from the one in which the crop year terminates. Thus the crop year of 1852 is the year ending June 30th, of 1852. The export of wheat is for a crop year, not a calendar year. The other figures are for calendar years. The numbers of acres cultivated in all crops and in wheat of vines, of tons of shipping that arrive from coast ports, from American ports on the Atlantic, and from all ports, of tons of wheat and of wool and of flasks of quicksilver exported are given by the thousand. The number of vines was reported by the assessors in 1874, and since the number of acres in vines. In 1876 there were 82,661 acres in vines.

Vallejo loaded 37 ships with wheat and flour for Europe in the crop year of 1873; 81 in the crop year of 1874; 79 in the crop year of 1875, and 90 in the crop year of 1876. Oakland loaded 17 ships with wheat in the crop year of

1871; 13 in 1872; 110 in 1873; 83 in 1874; 86 in 1875, and 44 in 1876. Vallejo and Oakland together, now load about two-fifths of all the wheat and flour exported; before 1868 San Francisco loaded all.

YEAR.	IN THOUSANDS.									
		ACRES CULTIVATED.			TONS.					
					SHIPPING ARRIVED.			EXPORTS.		
	Inches of rain.	In all crops.	In wheat.	Number of grape vines.	From domestic Pacific ports.	From domestic Atlantic ports.	From all ports.	Wheat.	Wool.	Flasks of quicksilver.
1850	30	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
1851	7	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......
1852	18	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	......	1
1853	35	......	......	......	......	......	414	......	......	13
1854	24	......	135	......	......	......	314	......	......	21
1855	24	257	133	......	100	148	518	......	......	27
1856	22	383	138	1,000	138	149	444	......	......	24
1857	20	508	164	2,000	182	110	428	6	1	27
1858	22	......	180	......	158	114	468	1	1	24
1859	22	763	270	3,000	209	157	499	3	1	3
1860	22	937	271	......	205	130	538	25	2	9
1861	20	1071	361	......	268	121	599	100	2	26
1862	40	......	......	......	262	120	635	52	3	34
1863	14	1198	263	6,000	253	115	631	68	3	26
1864	10	......	......	......	283	110	739	70	4	37
1865	25	1504	......	......	288	91	708	14	4	42
1866	23	1774	601	20,000	320	90	748	90	4	30
1867	35	1758	883	20 000	409	143	906	250	5	29
1868	30	2132	1119	22,000	501	136	1085	270	7	45
1869	21	2597	1263	23,000	574	161	1166	200	8	24
1870	19	2992	1479	26,000	598	83	1062	250	10	14
1871	14	2358	1425	31,000	623	68	1068	180	11	15
1872	34	2477	1739	28,000	636	97	1240	100	12	13
1873	18	3366	2128	30,000	646	88	1293	500	16	6
1874	24	3541	2156	35,000	770	89	1554	430	20	6
1875	18	3838	2321	......	858	116	1590	400	22	29
1876	31	3576	2352	......	941	128	1786	330	28	41
1877	10	......	......	......	869	150	1631	600	......	46

In the following table the immigrants are given in thousands. Thus in 1854, 67,000 immigrants arrived, 23,000 departed, and there was a gain of 44,000. These are round numbers, and a thousand being the unit of measurement, any fraction less than half a thousand is not counted; while a fraction exceeding a half is counted as a whole one. Thus 43,600 is counted as 44,000; while 43,400 is counted as 43,000. The exports, coinage and treasure yield are given in millions of dollars. All the immigrants mentioned in the table before 1869, came or went by sea. After April of that year, the figures include the statistics of the Central-Union Pacific Railroads. The arrivals and departures in 1870, by rail, were 32,000 and 23,000 respectively; in 1871, 30,000 and 22,000; in 1872, 34,000 and 22,000; in 1873, 44,000 and 33,000; in

1874, 56,000 and 25,000; in 1875, 75,000 and 30,000; in 1876, 61,000 and 38,000, and in 1877, 47,000 and 31,000.

YEAR.	IMMIGRANTS, IN THOUSANDS.					MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.					
				CHINAMEN.		EXPORTS.			TREASURE YIELD.		
	Arrivals.	Departures.	Gain.	Arrivals.	Departures.	Treasure.	Merchandise.	Total.	Coinage S. F. Mint	California.	Nevada.
1849	91	......	......	......	......	5	......	......	......	23	......
1850	36	......	......	......	......	28	......	......	......	50	......
1851	27	......	......	......	......	46	1	47	......	60	......
1852	67	23	44	20	2	46	1	47	......	69	......
1853	33	30	3	4	4	55	2	57	......	63	......
1854	48	24	24	16	2	52	2	54	10	64	......
1855	29	23	6	3	8	45	4	49	21	50	......
1856	28	23	5	5	3	51	4	55	20	58	......
1857	23	17	6	6	2	49	4	53	13	51	......
1858	41	28	13	5	3	48	5	53	19	47	......
1859	38	25	13	3	3	48	6	54	14	50	......
1860	31	15	16	7	2	42	9	51	12	48	1
1861	31	14	17	8	4	41	10	51	13	47	2
1862	28	12	16	8	3	43	11	54	6	45	6
1863	34	18	16	6	3	46	14	60	19	40	13
1864	32	22	10	3	3	57	13	70	20	35	17
1865	26	30	−4	3	2	45	15	60	19	35	17
1866	27	23	4	2	3	44	17	61	18	26	10
1867	36	20	16	4	4	42	22	64	19	25	20
1868	60	25	35	10	4	35	23	58	17	22	15
1869	38	14	24	15	5	37	21	58	14	23	15
1870	52	37	15	11	4	33	18	51	20	25	16
1871	42	32	10	5	3	17	14	31	20	20	23
1872	52	33	19	10	5	29	24	53	16	19	26
1873	70	35	35	18	7	25	31	56	22	18	35
1874	85	39	46	17	8	30	28	58	27	20	36
1875	107	43	64	18	7	43	31	74	32	18	40
1876	86	51	35	16	8	50	31	81	43	19	49
1877	65	47	18	10	8	58	30	88	50	18	52

INDEX.

The following index is intended mainly to assist the reader in finding topics not mentioned in the Table of Contents at the beginning of the book.

PAGE.
Abella, Friar 64, 66
Aborigines 19, 25
Adams & Co 226, 233
Admission of state 159, 162
Alameda, Bridge to 387
Alameda wharf 347
Alcaldes 85, 488
Alemany, Archbishop 421, 445
Almshouse 366
Alta California 441
Altimira, Friar 64
Alvarado, Governor 90
Alvord, Mayor 488
American, Brig 223, 224
Anita, Bark 204
Anza, Capt 45
Apportionments 327, 389
Archy Case 270
Arrow, Brig 202
Art Association 385
Avery, B. P 468
Ayala 45, 46, 92
Ayuntamiento 141

Baker, E. D 310, 327, 462
Baldwin, E. J 452
Banks 267, 303, 373, 404, 406, 487
Bancroft, George 97
Bancroft, H. H 468, 483
Barry, T. A 483
Bartlett, W. A 107, 110, 488
Beale, E. F 129
Bear flag 102
Beechey, F. W 57, 93, 483
Heideman sale 366
Belcher bonanza 392
Bellows, H. W 335, 337
Benicia 111, 374
Bennett, Judge 162
Bernal 73, 83, 483
Bigler, Governor 184, 280, 315, 488
Blanco, General 189-191
Blossom rock 383
Bluxome, I 247
Booth, Governor 386, 488
Bowman, J. F 421, 475
Brace, Philander 258
Brannan, S 97, 108, 109, 440, 445

PAGE.
Brenham, Mayor 488
Bridge, Islais Cove 366
Bridge, Mission Cove 312
Broderick, D. C 281, 319, 487
Brooklyn 108
Brown, Charles 483
Bryant, Alcalde 97, 114, 488
Bryant, Mayor 488
Buchanan, President 301
Bulkhead bill 323
Bulletin 405, 413, 442
Burnett, Governor 145, 270, 488
Burdue 173, 177
Buri-Buri 73
Burr, E. W 488
Butchertown 373

Cabrillo 26
Calaveras water 404, 405
California discovery 26
California steamer 136, 139
California Star 109, 120, 125, 126, 441
Californian 118, 125, 441
Calistoga 370
Call, Morning 405, 413, 442
Cambon, Friar 47, 64
Carmel Mission 43
Caroline, Bark 203
Carrillo 81
Casey, J. P 244, 249, 250
Castro, Juan 75
Castro, Governor 90, 104, 106
Castro, Manuel 101
Cemeteries 184, 209, 219, 487
Centennial celebration 419
Centennial of mission 421
Central America, Steamer 267
Censuses 117, 321, 383, 448
Challenge, Ship 193-195
Champagne consumed 457
Charities 446
Chico, Governor 81
Christian Commission 338
Chronicle 442
Churches 198, 322, 323, 366, 382, 444, 487
City Hall 156, 184, 382
City slip sale 199, 354
Clemens, Samuel 467

PAGE.
Clement Ordinance........364
Clifford, Josephine........408
Clippers........162
Coey, General........420
Coffee, consumed........457
Cohen, A. A........231–233
Colton, D. D........427, 450, 451
Cole, Senator........398
Coleman, W. T........172, 246
Colville, S........484
Committee of Safety........425
Commission, Land........178
Comstock mines...... { 332, 339–343, 351, 358
365, 374, 392, 399, 428
Conness, Senator........343–346
Consolidated Virginia........399, 401, 423, 428
Convention, Constitutional........140, 144
Coolbrith, Ina........471
Coon, Mayor........488
Cora, Charles........250
Cortes........25
Cotter-Nugent Duel........184
Crabb, H. A........268
Crespi, Friar........40, 41. 45, 46
Crocker, C........451
Cutts, J. M........484
Cyane, Corvette........95

Dana, R. H........95, 265
Danti, Friar........64
Davis, Jefferson........159, 293
Debt, City........354
Della Torre........292
Del Valle........193, 209
Denver, J. W........184
Derby, G. H........461
Diamond fraud........393
Diaz, Benito........74
Dillon........191, 209
Dolly Varden party........387, 398
Donner tragedy........111
Donahue, Peter........450
Downey, Governor........324, 488
Douglas, S. A........303, 336
Drake........26
Dwight........346
Dry dock........366, 370, 383
Duncan, J. C........422
Dwinelle, J. W........421, 468, 484, 486

Earthquakes........66, 364, 370
Edward Everett........135
Elections........ { 144, 183, 262, 284, 293
325, 331, 349, 367, 385
Estenaga, Friar........64
Estell, J. M........299, 312, 317
Estudillo, J. J........78
Euphemia, Brig........114
Examiner........443
Extension bill........197, 313
Extravagance........454

Fages, P........39
Fair, J. G........407, 450
Farnham, T. J........484
Fillmore, President........280
Figueroa, Governor........70
Fires........133, 156, 158, 404, 415

PAGE.
Fire department........357, 359
Fitch, H. D........74
Fitch, Thomas........413
Fitch, Mrs. Thomas........474
Flood, J. C........401, 450
Florida, privateer........349
Flores, G........71
Folsom, J. L........111, 474
Foote, H. S........303
Forbes, Alex........94, 98, 484
Fourgeaud, V........97, 120
Francesca........110, 111
Franciscan order........33
Fraser fever........273
Freeman, A. C........468
Fremont, J. C........100, 106, 157, 167
French-German war........384
French immigration........185
French subscription........384, 446
Friars........63, 64
Friedlander, Isaac........436

Galindo........73
Gambling, Public........143, 235
Garrison, C. K........230, 409, 488
Gassaway, F. H........475
Geary, J. W........143, 153, 488
German Subscription........384, 446
Gihon, J. H........483
Gilbert, Edward........117, 143, 145, 167, 184
Gleeson, Rev. Mr........464
Goat Island........389
Gold Bluff........273
Gold currency........348
Gold fever........126–132
Gold hunter........151
Goodman, J. T........475
Gorham, G. C........367
Gould and Curry........428
Governors, list of........488
Grading........432–438
Graham House........156
Greenhow, R........96
Guerrero, F........74, 85
Gutierrez, Governor........82
Gwin, W. M.143, 157, 167, 181, 233, 292–306, 467

Haggin, J. B........453
Haight, Governor........368, 488
Halleck, General........335, 468
Hammond, R. P........280
Happy Valley........157
Harte, F. B........467, 468
Haro, F. de........73, 74, 85, 306
Harris, Mayor........488
Hawes, Horace........388
Hayes Park........444
Hayes Tract........278
Hayward, A........453
Herald........184
Hetherington, Joseph........257
Hewston, Mayor........488
Hinckley, Wm........79, 87, 88
Hitchcock, General........202
Hittell, J. S........484
Hittell, T. H........468
Hoadley, M........309, 436
Hoffman, Judge........293, 486
Home Life........447

PAGE.
Homestead lots 333, 369
Hooker, General 335
Hopkins, Mark 426, 450
Hospitals 323
Hotels 322, 323, 334, 352, 373, 404, 438, 449
Hounds, The 148
Howard, V. E 254, 291
Hudson Bay Company 85, 88-90
Humphrey, I 124
Huntington, C. P 450
Hunt, T. D 445
Hutchings' Magazine 484
Hyde, Alcalde 114, 488

Ide, W. B 103
Inge, I. W 291
Irwin, Governor 488

Janin, H 394
Jenkins, J 173
Jenny Lind Theatre 169, 184
Jones, Commodore 95
Jones, John P 452, 468
Johnson, Governor 254, 481

Kearny, Gen 123
Kearny street 339, 360, 365, 378
Keene, James 459
Kemble, E. C 125
Kern River 273
King, Clarence 395
King, James 243, 244
King, T. Starr 326, 330
Kip, Bishop 443
Kotzebue 94

Lagoon at Mission 46
Lane, Dr. L. C 468
Lands, Outside 362, 364, 369
Langley, H. G 483, 484
Larkin, T. O 99, 103, 110, 454
Latham, M. S 296, 299, 305, 317, 453, 489
Lawson, Mrs. Emilie 473
Leavenworth, Alcalde 141, 149, 488
Leese, J. P 73, 79-85, 103
Libraries 382, 441
Lick, James 399, 403, 404, 416, 418, 487
Lick, John H 417
Limantour 73
Lincoln, President 326, 349
Lloyd, B. E 468, 484
Lots, Sale of 116, 150
Low, Governor 488
Lux, Charles 453

Macdonald, Hon. D. A 421
Macgregor, W. L 485
Mackey, J W 402, 450
Maguire, T 312
Mails, Overland 260, 326, 332
Marchena, F 73
Marshall, J. W 124
Martinez, Alcalde 85
Mason, Governor 128
McAllister, Judge 292
McComb, General 421
McCoppin, Mayor 363, 488
McCoppin ordinance 364
McDougal, James A 331, 344

PAGE.
McDougal, Governor John 282, 488
McGowan, E 297, 312
McKenzie, Robert 176
McKim 150
McPherson, General 335
Mechanics' Institute 367
Meiggs, H 218, 226
Merced Rancho 73
Merchants' Exchange 365
Merritt, Captain 103
Mervine, Captain 104
Mezzara, Madame 385
Micheltorena, Governor 90
Miller, H 453
Miller, Joaquin 474
Millionaires 450
Mills, D. O 410, 433
Mission Buildings 64
Mission Indians 49-62
Mofras 93, 96, 485
Montgomery, Captain 104
Montgomery Avenue 408
Montgomery street 378
Montgomery street straight 373, 378
Moraga 47, 48
Morrell, Capt 93
Municipal Reports 484

New Montgomery street 373, 374
Niantic 165
Nisbet, James 483
Noe, Alcalde 74, 83, 85
Nugent, J 184

Oakland 270, 339, 374, 391, 397, 487
O'Brien, W. S 401, 426, 450
O'Connell, Daniel 475
O'Farrell, J 114
Omnibuses 268
Oregon steamer 138
Osio, A. M 74
Overland Monthly 485

Pacheco, Dolores 100, 101
Pacheco, Governor 488
Pacific Mail Company 138, 235, 357
Padilla, Alcalde 98
Page, Mrs. E. A. S 475
Page, Bacon & Co 236
Palace Hotel 390, 404, 436
Palmer, Cook & Co 232, 269
Palou, Friar 34, 46, 47, 48, 49, 55, 64, 485
Panama steamer 139
Panama Railroad 235
Panics 215
Park, Golden Gate 382, 487
Parrott, J 433
Patten, B. A 453
Peace with Mexico 121
People's Party 303
Perkins, T. H 112
Perley, D. W 306, 307
Phelps, T. G 343
Pico, Governor 101, 104
Piercy, C. W 331
Piña, J 74
Pioche mines 392
Pioneer Society 184
Pioneer Magazine 485

PAGE.
Pixley, F. M....344, 346
Pollock, Edward....468
Pony express....324
Population statistics....489
Portala, Governor....39, 40, 42, 47
Portsmouth, Sloop....107
Post....442
Post-office....130, 373
Potrero....73, 366
Proffitt, John....468
Pueblo....76, 363
Purdy, S....315

Railroads { 333, 339, 348, 353, 358, 366, 367, 370, 373–376, 381, 386, 390–392, 422.
Railroads, Street....320, 334, 339, 356, 366
Ralston, W. C....401–414
Raousset....187–196
Ravenswood Bridge....367
Ray....89, 90
Reese, M....426, 427, 453
Requena, M....80
Richardson, W. A....77, 78
Riley, Governor....141, 142, 145
Rincon Hill....380
Rivera, Governor....30, 48
Roads, Toll....151, 198, 329, 347
Russ' Garden....193, 444

Sales of lots....115
San Antonio....39, 40, 42
San Carlos....39, 45
Sanchez, Francisco....73, 81, 85, 113
Sanchez, Jose....83, 86
San Francisco Bay discovered....41
Sanitary Commission....335–339
San Joaquin Valley....371
San Miguel Rancho....74
San Pedro Rancho....73
Santa Anna....192
Santillan....73, 320, 443
Sargent, Senator....343, 344
Saucelito....374
Seawall....366
Second street cut....373, 379
Securalization....70
Selby, T. H....416, 483
Semple, C. D....110
Senator, Steamer....151
Serra, Junipero....32–39, 483
Shafter, J. M....453
Sharon, W....438, 450, 462
Sherman, W. T....232, 333, 441
Sherreback, P....74, 320
Showalter, D....331
Simpson, Sir George....90, 96, 485
Site....473
Sloat, Commodore....97, 103, 104
Smith, Peter, title....184, 320
Social Spirit....458
Soule, Frank....409, 433, 434
Spear, N....79, 87
Stanford, Governor....437, 488
Statistics....489–491
Steam Navigation Company....303, 487
Steamer, First....119
Stearns, Abel....80
Stebbins, H....421

PAGE.
Stevenson's Regiment....112
Stillman, Dr....40, 131, 468, 485
Stock Board....343, 365
Stockton, Commodore....106
Stoddard, C.W....468, 471
Stockton street cut....380
Stuart, J....172, 175
Sugar consumed....437
Sullivan, James....251
Sullivan, John....453
Surveys....86
Sutter, J. A....89
Swift, J. F....468
Swett, John....486
Tea consumed....438

Telegraphs....193
Telegraph, Fire....352
Telegraph Hill....134, 183, 190, 443
Terry, D. S....254, 296–300
Teschemacher, Mayor....488
Tevis, Lloyd....453
Theatres....198, 373, 487
Thomas, P. J....484
Tide land sales....112, 190, 373
Tilford, F....317
Tuthill, F....468, 486
Turrill, C. B....463

Union, Adherence to....331
Union Party....334
United States Frigate....93

Vallejo, M. G....102, 421
Vallejo, town....370, 374, 375, 381, 385
Vancouver....92, 486
Vanderbilt....299
Van Ness, Mayor....488
Verdugo....79, 80
Vigilance Committee of 1851....172–178
Vigilance Committee of 1856....245–262
Vioget....86
Virginia City....415
Visitacion Rancho....73
Viscaino....29
Von Schmidt, A. W....333

Walker, Wm....192, 200–235, 237–239
Walcott, Josephine....472
Washburn, C. A....289
Washington, D. F....289
Water supply....334
Watt, Wm....437
Webb, Mayor....488
Weller, John B....283, 291, 296, 489
Wharves....164, 309
White Pine....373, 377
Whittaker, S....176
Wilkes, Commodore....94, 486
Willows, The....444
Woods, I. C....229–233
Woodward's Gardens....357, 444
Wool, General....202, 233
Workingmen's Party....424
Wright, Congressman....145, 167

Yañez, General....195
Young, C. & M. H. De....484

SUBSCRIBERS.

The following is an incomplete list of subscriptions to THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO, AND INCIDENTALLY OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, for the benefit of the Hebrew, Catholic and Protestant Orphan Asylums in San Francisco, and the yellow fever sufferers in the Gulf States, for which charities Col. Wm. Harney, under resolution of the auditing committee of the Centennial Celebration, is the trustee;

Andrews, Col. A. (3 copies.)
Adams, W. J.
Alvord, Wm. (3 copies.)
Anderson, Mrs. H. F.
Ashe, C. L.
Abbott, L.

Bailey, R. S.
Bayley, C. A.
Blake, Charles.
Billings, Harbourne & Co.
Burges, T.
Bastheim, J.
Beal, Samuel.
Bradford, Wallace
Boyd, Calvin M.

Cotter, E. B.
Courtney, A. H.
Clinton, George A.
Conner, John.
Craig, Peter.
Curry, John.
Coey, Wm. J., Jr.
Cohn, J.
Cooper, George E.
Coleman, John E. W.
Conklin, Frank.
Chase, W. W.
Cima, V. L. de

Davis, John.
Dutcher, J. M.
Dunker, C.
Devoe, B. O.
Donohoe, Kelly & Co. (3 copies.
Day, Thomas.
Duncan, J. K. (Vallejo.)
Derbec, Etienne.

Ellis, Gen. John S.

Fairfax, Mrs. C. S.
Falconer, R. S.
Firth, Joseph B.
Farrell, Mrs. E.
Flinn, Mrs.
Floyd, S. W.
Fox, Wm. C.

Green, F. Du Brutz.
Good, A. J.
Glazier, S. W.
Godchaux, Myrtil.
Gibbons, H. Dr.
Ganeben, B.
Green, J. C.

Harney, Col. Wm. (3 copies.
Himby, Heney S.
Hathaway, E. V.
Harrison, J. V.
Hinckley, Speers & Hayes.
Hollander, S.
Huerne, P.
Harris, D.
Hagemann, F., Jr.

Jacquot, Giraudin A.
Jenson, T.
Jewell, A. M.
Jory Brothers.

King, H. L. (3 copies.)
Kennedy, Mrs. J. A.
King, Cameron H.
Kane, John O.
Kennedy, James K.
Kenny, John.
Kavanaugh, George.
Kneass, Dallas A. (3 copies.)

Lunt, W. H.
Lane, John J.
Low, Mrs. C. L.
Lazard Freres (3 copies)
Lenekin, N. M.
Le Breton, Albert J.
Livingstone, Rinaldo R.

McCarthy, Mrs. J. C.
McDougall, Admiral.
McLea, Donald.
Mallon, John.
Macdonald, D. A. (3 copies).
Marselas, G. W.
Middlemas & Boole.
Montanya, Mrs. J. De La.
McKew, John.
Merle, V. V.
Metcalf, James B.
McInnes, J. A.
McGath, John.
Mills, D. O.
Mott, Edward M.
Moore, Mrs. J. G.
McIlwain, John.
Meagher, J. F. (2 copies.)
Newman, Carlton.
Neustadter, D.

Osmer, C.
Ortiz, Celedonio.

Page, Robert C.
Piercy, John D.
Plank, L.
Plum, C. M.
Poultney, George W.
Phillips, G. M.

Roundey, George H.
Richardson, R. W.
Richardson, W. L.
Roach, Philip A.
Rosenbaum, M.
Read, E H.
Roethe, C.
Rohn & Sherwood.
Ryan, Thomas.

Skelly, M.
Shaw, George T.
Station A, Post-office.
Stands, John.
Starr, W. M.
Seymour, Mrs. A. C.
Stroecker, H. H. W.
Scott, Richard.
Segehoff, H.
Scholl, Mrs. G. L.
Stoddard, Charles Warren.
Smith, Joseph.
Scott, Mrs. E. W.
Sloan, W. B.
Soker, D. L.
Schnoor, C. H.
Swett, Daniel.
Schulte, J. G. W.

Thomas, Bailey & Co.
Taylor, P.
Toland, H. H.
Thornton, H.
Tichenor, H. B.
Thornton, L. C.

Upton, Mrs. J. P.

Van Dusen, A. P.

Wallace, W. T.
Weaver, P. J.
Wessell, John.
Wieland, John.
Weletsky, W.
Waddell, Mrs. H. H.
Wells, George R.
Weems, J. P.
Wannemacher & Co.
Wheeler, Richard.
White, D. W.